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ABSTRACT

This document reports on a study evaluating the practices of identification and recruitment of migrant students. Guided by a 14-state advisory council, data were collected by ethnographic research of practice in migrant recruitment and focus-group studies of migrant families. The document consists of five sections each written by a different author(s) that: (1) assess the strengths and weaknesses of certificates of eligibility that are currently being used in 50 states to certify migrant children for federal programs (Luis A. Reyes); (2) clarify definitions of the terms "temporary" and "seasonal" employment in order to meet government guidelines when certifying migrant children (Neftali Serna); (3) summarize key statements issued between 1975-1984 by the U.S. Department of Education to clarify issues of migrant student eligibility (Vidal A. Rivera, Jr.); (4) describe the organization and implementation of recruitment from the State level down through various administrative infrastructures (Michael Reed); and (5) present the ethnographic study to examine the problems surrounding the provision of educational services to the children of migrant farmworkers in nine states (Robert T. Trotter and others). The document contains recommendations and notes special problems affecting migrant education. It also provides tips for successful recruiting and a bibliography. (LP)

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Recruiting Migrant Students

Reference Supplement

Edited by
Leon Johnson

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HARRISBURG

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Provisions of this contract called for reference to existing Federal regulations. At the time of materials preparation, the regulations in existence were listed as Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, *Federal Register*, Volume 54, No. 16, Thursday, January 26, 1989.

These materials are in the public domain; however, acknowledgement of authorship is required.

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Preface

Project Overview

The Identification and Recruitment Contract Project materials were produced through a contract between the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Migrant Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, and the Pennsylvania Department of Education. The purpose of the contract was to study the practices of identification and recruitment of migrant children nationwide and recommend, on the basis of that study, methods for the improvement of I&R procedures and techniques. Vast amounts of data were gathered through the study and suggested many ways to improve the quality of I&R.

Purpose

The ultimate purpose of the project was to improve the quality of the States' programs for identification and recruitment of migrant students. The contract materials and guides are produced to enhance this process in each State. These materials provide a model training package to use in the training of recruitment personnel.

Advisory Council

From the beginning of the project, a fourteen-State consortium provided guidance and direction to the development of the materials. The States represented were a cross section of the national program from small States and large States, home-base States and receiving States, and urban and rural settings. The consortium states were Arizona, California, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, Texas, Utah and Vermont. The consortium met four times

throughout the life of the project to set goals, to clarify development, to review materials, and to provide reports.

The Ethnographic Study

In order to provide a research base for the development of the contract materials, a study of identification and recruitment procedures and practices nationwide was ordered. The branch of anthropology called ethnography, which means "recording from life", employs the technique of interviews and observations of people in the field. Massive amounts of data are collected and studied for patterns and indications. This form of study was applied to the migrant program nationwide.

A team of skilled researchers, called ethnographers, was employed to conduct the national study of identification and recruitment. The study was conducted in nine States: Arizona, California, Idaho, Texas, Kansas Illinois, Florida, Massachusetts, and New York. This selection of States provided a balance of large state to small state and home base state to receiving state. During 1986, these nine States had a combined FTE that was 76% of the national count for that year. In this respect, these States were clearly a representative sample. The study consisted of two distinct parts.

STATE-OF-THE-ART STUDY. The state-of-the-art ethnography concentrated on the practices and procedures employed in each State for identification and recruitment of migrant children. Procedures from the SEA to the LEA level were researched. Conversations were conducted with State Directors and with directors of recruitment, as well as with local recruiters. Elaborate logs, diaries, and case histories were cross-referenced to locate patterns in administration and staff preparation. This portion of the study was three months long.

FOCUSED STUDY. The second part of the study was unique and had never before been attempted. The ethnographers went into migrant camps and talked with migrant families about their perceptions of the identification and recruitment process and of the migrant education program itself. The ethnographers not only *talked with* families, they *lived with, traveled with,* and in some instances, *worked beside* migrant families for a period of six months. Never before has there been such an in-depth study of migrant families that has revealed such rich data.

Training Materials and Guides

As a result of the information gleaned from the ethnographic studies, materials and guides were developed to create a thorough training package for recruiters and supervisors of recruitment nationally. These materials highlight the issues revealed by the ethnography to impact the process of recruitment, and they present suggestions for making recruitment more effective. The materials include:

Administrator's Guide
Recruiter's Guide
Reference Supplement
Training Manual
Introductory Videotape
Effects of Migration (reference book)

Field Test and Training-of-Trainers Workshop

The developed materials were field-tested from January to March, 1988, and provided much feedback on their effectiveness. The "Training-of-Trainers" Workshops were held April to June 1989. Those attending the training workshops received certificates indicating that they were certified as Official National Identification and Recruitment Contract Trainers.

Acknowledgements

Contract #300860130 was awarded October, 1986 and concluded June, 1989. Throughout the course of the contract, many individuals contributed. Among those individuals are the following:

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Many thanks to all of you for your many hours of concentration and concern for the issues of importance expressed in these materials. Your work stands as a legacy of the very best.

Paula Errigo-Stoup

Paula Errigo-Stoup
I&R Project Director

Introduction

This *Reference Supplement* contains selected byproducts of the contract for a study of Identification and Recruitment of migrant students.

In the course of working to deliver the items that were specified by the contract, numerous studies were conducted and reports were prepared and presented to the Advisory Council. The contract "deliverables" were based on these studies and reports.

As these data were prepared and presented to the Advisory Council, it immediately became evident that they contained a wealth of information. Even though the contract "deliverables" were based on them, and though some of their contents would be disseminated to the the public through the "deliverables," it was obvious that they had great value to the program in their own right, and deserved to be published along with the other materials.

The contents of this volume will not be of interest to everyone. They are primarily a resource that administrators and scholars can consult for background information for their studies or for project planning.

Much of this material was written by scholars at a high reading level, and was not intended for broad, general reading. However, the contents are fascinating. It is hoped that these pages will provide you with the insights and information that you need to improve the program for migrant students.

Documentation of Eligibility

By
Luis A. Reyes
Massachusetts Migrant Education Program

Introduction

This report was developed in response to the Advisory Council's wishes to examine and assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Certificates of Eligibility that are currently being used to certify the eligibility of migrant children. In completing this task, a total of fifty State migrant education programs' Certificates of Eligibility (COEs) were reviewed.

The analysis consisted of three parts:

- First, an item analysis of each COE was conducted to ascertain what elements of the generally accepted minimal requirements were contained in each State's document.
- Second, a summary and frequency distribution of the other data items, which are not required but serve an information purpose for each state, were compiled.
- Third, the documents were categorized into 6 basic design formats to establish the current preferences in the layout of COE's.

Methodology

A copy of each State migrant education program's COE was requested via correspondence or telephone inquiry. A master file of 50 COEs was developed. COEs were received from all States including Puerto Rico and the Mariana Islands, excepting Delaware and Nebraska. Each form was reviewed to identify:

- Its conformity to 33 items of minimally required documentation outlined in the Non-Binding Regulations and the *SMART Accountability Manual*
- The additional data items it included
- Its design format.

A specially designed checklist was created to record the determinations of the reviewer. To ensure the highest possible degree of accuracy, my decisions were further checked by two other staff members of the Massachusetts program. The results of these analyses were stored in a Lotus 1-2-3 computer file and the findings were calculated using same.

The reviewer attempted to carefully identify COE criteria and make judgments, where necessary, about the categorization of items. Should the reader wish to review the decisions made during this analysis, the details have been recorded and saved on an IBM, DOS-formatted, floppy disk.

Findings

The following pages present the findings of the COE analysis. In general, the results reflect a surprising degree of variation.

- Only five of the required data items were identified in 100% of the State COEs.
- Twenty of the required data items achieved a 90% or better inclusion rate.
- Five data items were reported in the 75% to 89% range.
- Three data items—State Residency Date, Relationship of Qualifying Worker to Children, and Concurrence of

Parent to former Status—were reported on fewer than 50% of the COEs.

Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn that there still remains substantial room for improvement in the data collection instrumentation as it currently exists.

A second finding relates to the other information collection purposes to which States utilize their COEs. Over thirty additional data items were identified during the review. The most common data items (that is, appearing on 51% or more of the COEs) were:

- 82% An identifier for the program area being served, usually denoted as "School District"
- 68% A "Comments" section relating to eligibility
- 52% School IDs
- 50% A place for the COE to be approved by a person in supervisory rank to the recruiter/interviewer.

A data item requesting the home telephone number was also close to the 50% cut-off, at 48%. The remaining items ranged in occurrence from appearing on 16 COEs to 1 COE (see attachment).

Clearly, the committee should review these items and determine which items might deserve to be added to the minimal criteria listing. This choice should not be made on frequency alone. A careful review of the items may well reveal a data item that appeared infrequently, but that could be of great value. An example might be, "Place Of Employment".

Notwithstanding all the above, the most striking finding of the analysis is the growing consensus regarding the basic format of COEs. An overwhelming majority of the states choose to put "Parent Data" before "Child Data", or vice versa, or to string the LQM statement above the "Authorization" lines. When compared to the most-often-used side-by-side format, it is clear that the majority of the states have adopted the basic design considerations of the MERIT Task Force's recommendations.

Of the States who have as yet not chosen to incorporate the MERIT statement,

- 8 States are still using a "child" versus "family" form (with some constructed in a vertical manner)
- 2 States are using vertical "family" forms

- 8 States are using a format that resembles the MERIT COE, but requires "checking a box" rather than the "statement" input design.

It is this reviewer's opinion that the effectiveness and efficiency of these COE documents rate poorer marks than do the MERIT configurations.

Conclusion

Whether or not it is critically important to achieve universal acceptance of one MERIT format is probably not a matter of significant practical consequence. This reviewer has some doubt about the political feasibility of ever getting all States to accept one standard form.

This comment aside, the task as assigned requested the recommendation of one standard COE form. Toward this end, it is therefore recommended that the basic MERIT form with "Parent Data" placed first, "Child Data" second, "Certification" and "Authorization" sections placed below (side by side), and spaces for the appropriate signatures be re-worked to collect all of the "expanded" minimal data items as agreed upon by the committee.

Second, even under the most optimistic view of getting States to use a standard COE form, *absolute* conformity is highly unlikely. The States do seem to have unique informational needs. Therefore, we should strive to attain universal compliance with the collection of minimally-required data items, and afford an opening for individual State needs.

Thus, the next issue becomes the problem of carving out an area that offers each State an opportunity to collect other unique items, while at the same time not interfering with the basic intent of the COE. This task could perhaps be best pursued in concert with a printer who has wide experience with governmental forms.

Third, the benefits of printing a standard COE form for the nation should be carefully reflected upon. We need to *sell* a new, improved COE. States need to really feel that there is a greater benefit in using a standard form as compared to using standard criteria. Otherwise, the recommendations of this

group will be of limited force in setting and implementing a viable national COE standard.

Certain selling points that we might consider in selling the standard COE are:

- The benefits of better cost efficiencies produced through the bulk orders of COEs
- The reduction in cost overheads for translating COEs into other languages of the home
- Perhaps most importantly, the capacity to write universal guidelines and training for the "basic" portion of each State's COE.

Clearly, this is not intended to be the entire laundry list of marketing strategies; only a stimulus for further thought.

A final recommendation concerns reality testing. Any form we develop should be field tested. Recruiters should be listened to on how they actually collect the data in home interviews. Forms that are adapted to the actual streams of information that occur in the interview setting will better meet the needs of recruiters and the States. In fact, this process should be a crucial component in the final determination of which MERIT alternative is the best option.

Item Analysis

COE Data Items

The table below lists the data items that are included on the COEs that were surveyed, how many States included that item on their COE, and what percent of the States included that item. Fifty State COEs were surveyed.

	Data Item	No. States	%
	PARENTAL DATA		
1	Legal Father	48	96
2	Legal Mother	48	96
3	Current Father/Guardian	49	98
4	Current Mother/Guardian	49	98
5	Current Address	50	100
6	Homebase Address	46	92
	CHILD DATA		
7	Migrant Status	48	96
8	Children's Names	50	100
9	Sex	50	100
10	Birthdate	49	98
11	DOB Verification	49	98
12	Age	38	76
13	Birthplace	47	94
14	Grade	48	96
15	School Name	46	92
16	Student Number	41	82
	ELIGIBILITY		
17	State Residency Date	15	30
18	Date of entry into LEA	47	94
19	Date of Last Qualifying Move	48	96
20	District Moved From	48	96
21	District Moved To	48	96
22	Name of Worker	38	76
23	Relation to Children	21	42
24	Qualifying Activity	49	98
25	Check for Temporary	46	92
26	Check for Seasonal	46	92
27	Check for Agricultural	45	90
28	Check for Fishing	44	88

(COE Data Items, continued.)

	Data Item	No. States	%
	PARENT AUTHORIZATION		
29	Concurrence of Former Status	11	22
30	Consent for MSRTS services	50	100
31	Certification of Information	41	82
32	Parent Signature	50	100
33	Outreach Worker Signature	47	94
	OTHER ITEMS		
1	District ID/Name	41	82
2	Comment Section	34	68
3	School ID	26	52
4	COE Reviewer's Signature	25	50
5	Home Telephone	24	48
6	Medical Consent	16	32
7	Place of Employment	10	20
8	Regular/Summer ID	9	18
9	Field Trip Consent	9	18
10	Surname Box/Number	9	18
11	Previous Employment	8	16
12	Eligibility Termination Date	7	14
13	Form Received Date	4	8
14	Home Language	4	8
15	Special Services Needed	4	8
16	Previous Service in a MEP	3	6
17	Directions to Current Address	3	6
18	Health Insurance	3	6
19	Withdrawal Date—Previous School	3	6
20	Date of Employment	3	6
21	Medical Information	3	6
22	Total No. in Household	2	4
23	Free Lunch	2	4
24	Next Destination	2	4
25	Social Security Number	2	4
26	Publicity Consent	2	4
27	Physician's Name	1	2
28	Emergency Contact	1	2
29	Attendance Data	1	2
30	Household Income	1	2

COE Criteria by State

The table below compares the States' COEs with the minimum required data items. Also listed is the number of optional data items that each State included on its COE.

State	No. Items	%	No. Items
	Meeting minimum:		*Other:*
Montana	32	97	6
New York	32	97	8
Wyoming	32	97	4
Alaska	32	97	1
New Hampshire	32	97	5
Alabama	31	94	2
Minnesota	31	94	10
Puerto Rico	31	94	5
Arizona	31	94	2
Indiana	31	94	7
Vermont	31	94	6
Massachusetts	31	94	13
Tennessee	31	94	5
Wisconsin	31	94	7
Connecticut	31	94	8
Virginia	31	94	5
Maine	30	91	4
Oregon	30	91	6
Guam	30	91	5
Kansas	30	91	6
Georgia	30	91	3
Iowa	30	91	5
Nevada	30	91	5
Idaho	30	91	1
California	30	91	6
Maryland	30	91	3
South Dakota	30	91	5
Illinois	30	91	6
Florida	30	91	5
Colorado	29	88	6
Pennsylvania	29	88	6
New Mexico	29	88	4
Rhode Island	29	88	11
North Dakota	29	88	6
Arkansas	29	88	4
Texas	29	88	4
Washington	29	88	8
Mississippi	28	85	2
Kentucky	27	82	4
South Carolina	27	82	5
Utah	27	82	10

(COE Criteria by State, continued.)

State	No. Items	%	No. Items
	Meeting minimum:		*Other:*
Michigan	26	79	16
Louisiana	26	79	2
Ohio	26	79	5
New Jersey	25	76	6
Washington, D.C.	25	76	3
Oklahoma	24	73	3
North Carolina	23	70	1
Missouri	22	67	1
West Virginia	21	64	1

COE Design Format

The table below lists the types of COEs that were found in the survey, and shows how many and what percent of the States use each type.

Design Type	No. States	%
Merit Format—Parent/Child	22	44
Merit Format—Child/Parent	7	14
Merit—Alternative	3	6
Check Box	8	16
Vertical Form	2	4
Single Student	8	16

"Temporary" and "Seasonal"

Ascertaining the Temporary and Seasonal Aspects of Qualifying Employment

By
Neftalí Serna
Florida Department of Education

Introduction

Employment or the intent to be employed in agriculture or fishing activities which are of a temporary or seasonal nature, is the base requirement that determines eligibility in the migrant education program (34 CFR §201.3). Although "temporary" and "seasonal" may be defined differently, the Congress intended that the program serve those children whose parents or guardians migrate annually in order to secure employment which is not of a permanent or year round nature.

In 1985 the Office of the Inspector General (IG) in the United States Department of Education conducted a document audit that raised questions about the temporary and seasonal nature of qualifying activities in almost half of the 382 cases reviewed. The report indicated that the majority of the questioned eligibility determinations were primarily caused by the temporary

or seasonal nature of the qualifying occupations (as compared to permanent non-qualifying work activities).

Some Clarifications about "Temporary" and "Seasonal"

The terms "temporary" and "seasonal," although closely related, have different meanings. The Nonregulatory Guidance (NRG) of March 24, 1986, pages 23-24, provides some amplification of "temporary" and "seasonal" work activities.

These amplifications are not exhaustive; however they do shed additional light on the subject. In order to explore this issue further and add clarity to the definitions stated in the NRG, the following observations are offered:

"Temporary"

DEFINITION RELATIVE TO EMPLOYMENT. Work activity that is performed for a limited time and for the duration of less then one year. The work activity is of such nature that it can be performed at any time during that year and is not confined to a specific season or crop cycle. Work that is short lived or impermanent.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH TEMPORARY. The employer controls when the work is activated, discontinued, increased, and regulates the length of employment for workers hired for one year or less.

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE AND DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY. The number of families moving to seek temporary employment comprises a small percentage of the families in the migrant stream. A survey conducted in one of the major home-base states in 1986 indicated that approximately ten percent of the migrant families moved to seek temporary employment.

The issue of temporary employment was the element that caused the majority of the exceptions cited in the IG audit. Auditors consistently rejected the eligibility determinations based on moves to seek temporary work in what is assumed to be typically "year-round" industries such as dairy, poultry processing, and livestock production. Although these activ-

ities are specifically mentioned in the regulations as qualifying activities (34 CFR §201.3(b)(1)), the auditors indicated that in their estimation these activities were not temporary in nature, except under *clearly documented circumstances.*

"SEASONAL"

DEFINITION RELATIVE TO EMPLOYMENT. Work activity dictated by a seasonal cycle and that can be predetermined to occur at approximately the same time each year.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SEASONAL. The seasons control when the planting, cultivation, harvesting or processing occurs.

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE AND DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY. The majority of families in the migrant stream move to perform seasonal type work. The home-base survey State mentioned earlier indicated that approximately ninety percent of the migrant families moved to seek seasonal work.

The auditors seldom questioned seasonal activities such as planting, cultivating, and harvesting of crops. This does not diminish the importance of program administrators and recruiters becoming well informed and properly documenting seasonal agriculture and fishing employment information as specifically conducted in their service areas.

Doing Your Homework

The 1985 migrant education program regulations (34 CFR §201.30) requires the State Education Agency (SEA) to implement procedures that ensure the correctness of the information upon which eligibility was determined. Documenting the temporary and seasonal aspects of employment requires some "homework". The procedures for documentation may entail interviews with employers and industry experts, field visits, and researching industry literature. This information will be helpful in training recruitment personnel and will provide program justifications and accountability.

Some Documentation Samples

On the following pages are two methods of documenation that were developed in Florida and Louisiana. The unique features of each approach are:

FLORIDA. "Survey of Dairy Work Activities in Okeechobee, County, Florida."

This study targeted one particular industry in one locality. The purpose of the survey was:

- To determine if some activities associated with a typically "year-round" industry were performed on a temporary or seasonal basis
- To document any unusual circumstances that resulted in the employment of workers on a temporary or seasonal basis
- To determine how to clearly document information to substantiate the temporary and seasonal aspects of one industry.

This type of in-depth report is designed to familiarize those who may not be knowledgeable with agriculture and fishing work and practices in a specific area.

The process used in this study is of a generic nature and provides a model to document the temporary or seasonal aspects of work activities in a specific area. To acquaint you with the documentation process a copy of the survey is included in this section.

LOUISIANA. Exerpts from *A Manual of Qualifying Work Activities in Louisiana.*

This manual was written for the purpose of providing a guide to seasonal and temporary work activities which may be performed by agricultural workers and fishers who migrate into and within the State. The information is designed to help recruiters to become familiar with seasonal fluctuations of crop activities throughout the State and methods of processing that may vary somewhat.

The manual serves as a Statewide guide and *cannot* be studied as a regional guide for any particular area or for any specific crops or industry predominating in that area. Two activities from this guide are also contained in this section. These excerpts provide a model for other States to follow in developing their own manuals.

Florida

Survey of Dáiry Work Activities in Okeechobee County, Florida

Background Information

SURVEY PARTICIPANTS. Daniel W. Delagall, Director, Special Programs, Okeechobee County Schools, James W. Riney, and Neftalí (Nef) Serna, Program Specialists, Florida Department of Education.

PROBLEM. The Inspector General of the United States conducted a review of Identification Forms in 1985-86 and advised the Florida Department of Education that dairy work, in their estimation, is usually not temporary or seasonal in nature, except under clearly documented circumstances. The Inspector General's opinion was based on prior audits conducted in other States.

PURPOSE. The purpose of the survey was to provide technical assistance to the migrant education program in Okeechobee County in order to determine:

- If some of the activities associated with dairy work were performed on a temporary or seasonal basis
- If there existed any unusual circumstances or seasonal basis
- How to clearly document information to substantiate the temporary and seasonal aspects of dairy farm work.

Implementation Procedures

REVIEW OF RECORDS. The first phase of the survey involved reviewing Sections II and III of the Identification Forms, ESE 047, (Certification of Eligibility) of the families moving to Okeechobee County during 1986-87 school year for the purpose of obtaining dairy work. The items examined were:

- The date of the last qualifying move(#6)
- The temporary or seasonal employment sought (#7)
- The cities and states listed in the last qualifying move (#8)
- The birth places of the children in the families (#16).

The purpose for examining this information was to determine the temporary and seasonal aspects of the work sought and to establish if mobility patterns existed for the dairy worker families in this school district.

INTERVIEWS WITH INDUSTRY LEADERS. The second phase of the survey was to interview two dairymen, and a state industry advisor to determine if dairy work in Okeechobee County employs workers on a temporary and seasonal basis. The following persons took time from their busy schedule to meet and provide input:

- Mr. Louis W. Larson, Owner of Larson Dairy
- Mr. Kent Bowen, General Manager, McArthur Farms
- Mr. Patrick Miller, County Extension Agent, Universityof Florida, Institute of Food and Agricultural Services.

DAIRY VISITS AND OBSERVATIONS. The last survey activity entailed visiting the dairy farm operations to observe activities and talk to the workers. At the same time an effort was made to determine if some of the work was performed on a temporary or seasonal basis.

Findings

REVIEW OF RECORDS. One hundred and seventy nine Identification forms were reviewed. Thirty percent of the families moving to Okeechobee County moved into the district to seek dairy farm work.The remainder of the families moved into the district primarily to work in the vegetable and citrus farms.

The following qualifying activities were listed as the type of work sought on the dairy farms:

- Milker
- Rounding up cows
- Outside man
- Washer (cows)
- Feed truck driver
- Dairy maintenance
- Dairy foreman
- Cow breeder
- Tractor driver

- Raising calves
- Booger boy
- Loading feed
- Hay field
- Butchers cow
- Cattle truck driver.

In most instances the recruiters recorded the job subfunctions as stated by the parents. The terminology was in the vernacular of the dairy workers and no effort was made to clarify it for auditors or other lay persons. Upon completion of the review of records and interviews it became evident the idiomatic terms of dairy work were difficult for persons outside the dairy industry to understand.

The dairy farms basically consist of the following operations:

- Milking
- Heifer (breeding and raising dairy stock)
- Farm (planting, cultivating, harvesting feeds).

When all of the work activities were reviewed it was evident that they fall into these three categories. (See the section on RECOMMENDATIONS). The percentage of workers migrating to seek work in these operations were:

- To milk cows, 70%
- To breed and raise dairy cattle, 29%
- To plant, cultivate, harvest hay or grains (dairy feeds), 1%.

The milking, breeding and raising of dairy stock are performed during the peak production period which occurs from September to May. Since workers are employed to meet the temporary needs of the dairy industry during this period, it was concluded that these activities could be classified as temporary in nature. The farming operation employs workers to plant, cultivate and harvest hay, sorghum, and other grains. Since these activities follow a seasonal cycle, we concluded that this work was seasonal in nature.

The birth dates of the children surveyed revealed the following:

- Children born in other States, 39%

- Children born in other counties in Florida, 47%
- Children born in Okeechobee County during previous migration periods, 14%.

This information is credible evidence of the families' constant mobility.

INTERVIEWS WITH INDUSTRY LEADERS. In order to obtain credible data we interviewed the most reliable and credible sources available. All of the persons interviewed are associated with the dairy industry in Okeechobee County.

According to *Successful Farming* magazine, January 1987, Larson Dairy owned by Louis W. Larson is the largest dairy in the United States. This operation milks 9,500 cows and has annual sales of $20 million.

Mr. Bowen is the General Manager of McArthur Farms. This dairy is listed in the same publication as the second-largest dairy in the country with a herd of 7,000 cows and sales of $18 million annually.

Mr. Miller is the County Extension Service dairy agent in Okeechobee County. He provides technical assistance to dairy farmers in this county. Forty-three percent of all milk produced in Florida comes from Okeechobee County.

The persons interviewed indicated that dairying in South Florida is vastly different from the rest of the country. To make their point, Mr. Bowen and Mr. Miller indicated they had to re-learn dairying when they moved here from dairy operations in the mid-west. They listed the following factors that make Florida dairying unique:

- SIZE OF DAIRIES. The dairies in Florida are very large in comparison to the family farms that most people are familiar with in other states. Large scale dairying requires a large labor force of temporary and permanent workers. McArthur farms employs an average of 200 workers to milk, breed, feed their herds and maintain their farms.
- PRODUCTS. The type of milk produced by cows that feed on grasses and grains produced on South Florida soil is suitable only for the fresh "drinking" milk market. In contrast, dairies in other states produce large quantities of milk for dairy by-products such as cheese, butter, canned and dry milk. The standards for producing drink-

ing milk are very stringent. Therefore more workers are needed to monitor and control sanitation, feeds, storage, milk quality, and the health of the herds.

- MARKETS. All of the drinking milk produced in Florida is consumed within the State. Federal marketing requirements limits the amount of milk produced in Florida therefore making it necessary to import milk from other states. Florida's major milk consumers are the tourists and the school children. These two groups create a high demand for drinking milk from September to May. These markets are drastically reduced during the summer months.
- PRODUCTION. Increased milk production is controlled by the birthing of calves. Basically, when cows nurse calves, they give more milk. The cows are artificially inseminated so that calving occurs during the peak milk demand period.
- CLIMATE. The cool-weather months in Florida dovetails with the market and peak production periods. Cool, mild weather helps cows to eat better and produce more milk. The birthing of calves is better when the weather is cool. Adversely the hot humid Florida summer weather is very risky for calving. Hot weather decreases the cows' appetites and production is reduced drastically. McArthur Farms milks 1000 fewer cows during the summer. Daily milk production in Florida decreases by approximately 1.28 million pounds per day during this period.

THE TEMPORARY AND SEASONAL ASPECTS OF DAIRY WORK IN OKEECHOBEE COUNTY. The number of workers needed on the dairy farms in Okeechobee County fluctuates with the demand for milk. An important aspect of the dairy industry that works in conjunction with production is the heifer (breeding and raising of dairy stock) operation.

The dairy herd has to be restocked regularly and the birthing of calves during the cool weather months requires additional workers. The heifer operation is like a nursery in a hospital. Temporary workers are needed to feed and care for the calves during the critical first few months of their lives. Later in this report the activities of the heifer operation are described in more detail.

Another aspect of the dairy farm that requires additional workers at certain times of the year is the farm operation.

The large dairies in the County grow a large percentage of their own feeds. According to the dairymen, 50% of the total cost of milk can be attributed to producing or purchasing of feeds and forages. The seasonal workers are employed mainly in harvesting, transporting, and storage of feeds.

According to the dairymen, the peak milk production, calving, and feed harvesting periods require them to increase their work forces from September to May. When the low production period occurs during the summer, many of the workers head to the Northern States.

In summary, the dairy industry in Okeechobee County employs workers on a temporary or seasonal basis because:

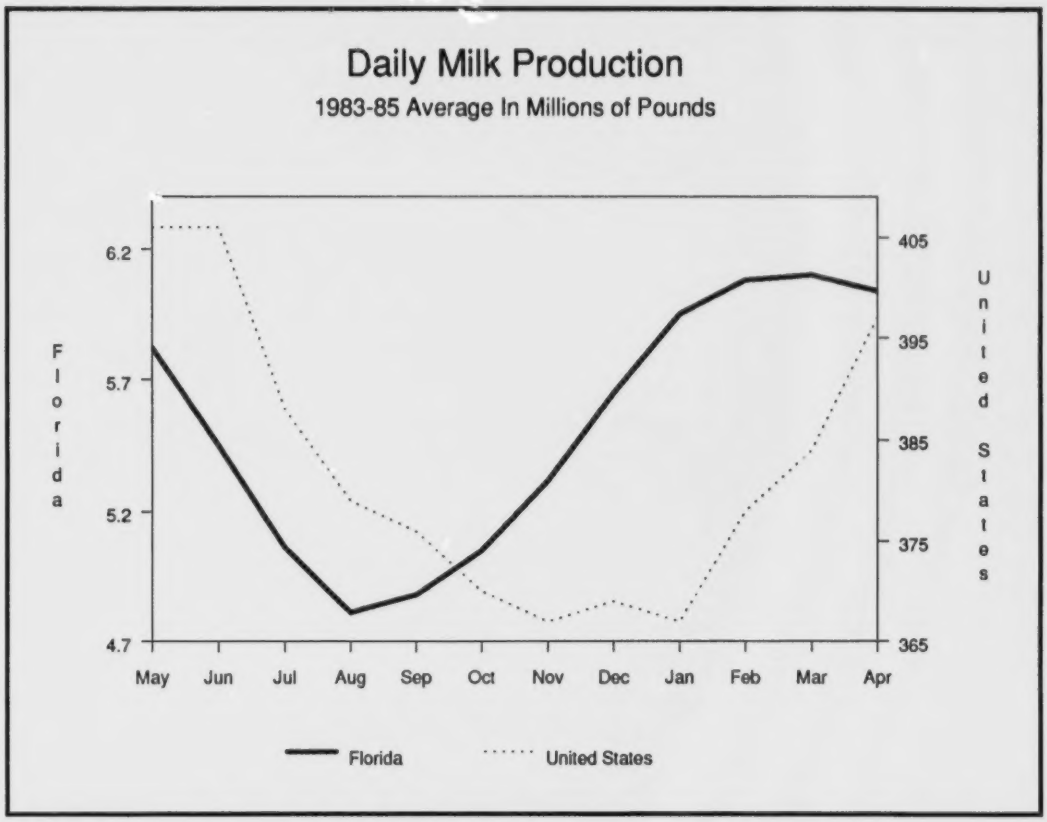
- Milk production is higher September to May
- Milk production is lowest June to August
- Freshening of cows (birthing of calves) increases milk production and is controlled to occur September to December.
- Hay, sorghum, and other feeds are planted, cultivated harvested October to May.

WHO ARE THE DAIRY WORKERS THAT MIGRATE TO OKEECHOBEE COUNTY? The interviews and records indicated that dairy workers are mainly white traveling in family units. Each family had an average of 3.4 children. Some Hispanics have taken up dairy work as a result of severe freezes in Central Florida and Texas in the last five years.

The migrant dairy workers in general do not seem to have definite roots. Incentives such as housing, production bonuses, and profit sharing offered by the large dairies in Okeechobee County have not deterred their mobility. Mr. Larsen indicated that 42% of his workers have been with him less than six months. To demonstrate turnover of workers, Mr. Bowen pointed out that he issues 600 W-2 Forms annually for the 200 jobs at McArthur Dairy.

The survey indicated that 48% of the dairy families made their Last Qualifying Move (LQM) from other counties in Florida. The remaining 52% of the families made an LQM from eighteen different states.

The workers seem to migrate to take advantage of the peak milk production and cow freshening periods. The Florida milk production peak period is during the winter when the Northern States are experiencing low milk output (see graph below). This seems to please the workers, as they take advantage of Florida's mild winters and the Northern States' cool summers.



This graph shows dramatically that Florida's milk production peaks during the season that milk production for the U.S. as a whole is at its lowest for the year. This phenomenon has encouraged migration of dairy workers between the Northern States and Florida.

The dairymen indicated that the Whole Herd Termination Program sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture has created additional migration of dairy workers. This government program was designed to decrease milk surpluses. Many dairy farmers across the country are going out of the business under this program. This has displaced many dairy workers who are now part of the migrant stream.

THE DAIRY FARM CONFIGURATION. The third phase of this study entailed visiting:

- The dairy
- The heifer (breeding and restocking)
- The farm operations.

Our visit to the dairy operation reinforced what we had learned in the interviews. The sanitation requirements keep workers busy cleaning and providing for the health of the cows, and maintaining the equipment and buildings. Basically, three functions were performed here:

- Milking
- Cleaning
- Maintenance.

Workers indicated that three shifts work around the clock (each shift works nine hours per day, six days a week. The workers rotate duties to break the monotony of repetitious work, especially on the swing and graveyard shifts.

The heifer operation (breeding and raising of dairy stock) keeps replenishing the dairy herd. According to the Florida Crop Reporting Service 1985 Dairy Summary, it costs an average of $900 to replace each dairy cow. This investment requires much care and attention, especially during the early life of the calves.

The calf barns have to be kept spotless to prevent disease and infection. Calves have to be dehorned, and provided medications. Calves require special feeding. Extra workers are required to round up the mother cows for milking and the milk has to be brought into the barn and fed to the calves. Newborn calves have to be picked up where the cows drop them, cleaned, and brought into the calf barns. On the day we visited one of the calf barns 1,100 calves were being cared for by a crew of workers. Calves are provided attention twenty-four hours a day. The need for additional temporary workers is greatest during the calving season.

The farm operation consists of growing and harvesting of grasses and grains for cow feeds. Most of the migrant workers are employed in harvesting, storing and distributing the crops to the dairy and heifer operations.

Recommendations

CLARIFYING AND DOCUMENTING THE QUALIFYING ACTIVITIES. The qualifying activities need to be clarified and defined so that recruiters can classify them into a limited number of uniform categories. The survey indicated that workers move to work in three different operations on the dairy farms, namely:

- The dairy
- The heifer (breeding, raising of dairy stock)
- The farm (growing and harvesting of feeds and grains).

Within each grouping there is a multiplicity of minor subfunctions that they performed. The subfunctions were written in the vernacular of the dairy industry and were difficult to interpret by persons not familiar with dairying. It is recommended that subfunctions be categorized under qualifying activities that correspond to the three major operations of the dairy farms in Okeechobee County. The following is a suggested method of documentation:

THE DAIRY OPERATION

Qualifying Activity: To milk cows (to be recorded in item #7 of the Identification Form)

Temporary: (To be checked in item #7 of the Identification Form.)

Explanation of Temporary: Employment is for the duration of peak milk production period, September to May. (To be recorded in item #11 of the Identification Form.)

Sites and Subfunctions:

LOCATION: Milking parlor/barns, inside and outside.

SUBFUNCTIONS:

- *Milker* (inside): Cleans, disinfects cows before milking, operates milking machines, keeps floors clean.
- *Clean-up worker* (inside): Washes and sterilizes milking equipment, milk lines, tanks, etc.
- *Feeder* (outside): Feeds and waters milk cows.

THE HEIFER OPERATION
(breeding, raising of dairy stock)

Qualifying Activity: To breed and raise dairy cattle. (To be recorded in item #7 of the Identification Form.)

Temporary: (To be checked in item #7 of the Identification Form.)

Explanation of Temporary: Employment is for the duration of cow freshening and calf nursing periods, September to May. (To be recorded in item #11 of the Identification Form.)

Sites and Subfunctions:

LOCATION: Heifer operation, calf barns, inside, and outside

SUBFUNCTIONS:

- *Inside worker:* Feeds, dehorns calves, gives calves medications, keeps barn clean.
- *Outside worker* (Booger boy): Rounds up cows for milking, checks cows' health, picks up new born calves, milks fresh cows and takes milk to calf barn, feeds cows.
- *Maintenance :* Inside and outside of building.

THE FARM OPERATION

Qualifying Activity: Plants, cultivates, or harvests (specify) hay or grains (specify). (To be recorded in item #7 of the Identification Form.)

Seasonal: (To be checked in item #7 of the Identification Form.)

Explanation of Seasonal: Employment is for the duration of the planting, cultivating or harvesting (specify) of the hay, or grain (specify) used for feeding dairy herds.

Sites and Subfunctions:

LOCATION: Fields, storage buildings, and barns.

SUBFUNCTIONS: Works in the fields, plants, cultivates or harvests (specify) hay or grain (specify) used for feeding dairy herds. Transports and distributes feeds to feeding sites.

MIGRATION INDICATORS. It is recommended that recruitment staff be on the alert for indicators that may tend to show evidence of migrancy.

When interviewing migrant families the recruiters should monitor the birthplace of the children. Families whose children have birthplaces in different cities will most likely have a history of migration.

Another way to determine migration is to inquire of the families regarding previous moving. Recent qualifying moves should be recorded on the reverse side of the first page of the identification form. This information can be used to substantiate migrancy.

UTILIZATION OF THIS REPORT. It is recommended that the information compiled in this study be utilized to familiarize migrant program and non-program personnel with dairy work activities in Okeechobee County.

The migrant program recruiters should be trained to document eligibility statements in a clear, concise manner that is understandable to those who may not be familiar with dairying. The recommendations outlined in this report should serve as a standard to bring clarify and uniformity to the confirmation of eligibility facts.

Copies of this report should be kept on file to familiarize persons and agencies who may not be knowledgeable with dairy work and migrant families in Okeechobee County.

Louisiana

Qualifying Work Activities in Louisiana

A Recruiter's Guide to Documenting Eligibility for Migrant Education

[*The State of Louisiana has published this Guide for its recruiters. It outlines very thoroughly the temporary and seasonal qualifying activities that migrant workers engage in in that State. An exerpt is printed here as an outstanding example of how this issue can be addressed. Other States would do well to follow Louisiana's lead in this project. As you read, please keep in mind that this is* only an exerpt *of the complete Guide. –Ed.*]

Fruits

Fruits crops are grown on a large scale in Louisiana and are considered a major economic asset for the State. Our major fruit crops include:

- Louisiana citrus
- Strawberries
- Blueberries
- Peaches

LOUISIANA CITRUS. (Satsuma, Valencia, sweet, and navel oranges; Ruby Red grapefruit; limes; and lemons)

Citrus are best described by the distinctive fruit they bear. Valencias are the juice oranges; navel oranges, the most widely produced, have a special flavor; Plaquemines sweets and Louisiana sweets bear fruit more resistant to cold weather. Because this fruit thrives in the warm, humid climate of southern Louisiana and because it bolsters the state's economy, the expertise required in the production of each variety has become specialized. This manual will discuss general seasonal activities of the most popular commercial crops.

Some *seasonal* activities in the growing of citrus trees may be done in the nursery, such as budding or planting seeds. Other *seasonal* activities which are performed in the orchard and may provide employment opportunities for migrant workers include:

- Planting seeds (October-February)

- Transplanting trees from nursery to rows (December 15-February or as late as April)
- Preparing for "budding*" (early February)
- Spring "budding*" /removing buds/thinning buds (late March-May)
- Fall "budding*"/dormant "budding*" (late August-October)
- Crops dusting/fertilizing (late January or early February and late May-June, depending on the age of the tree)
- Controlling insects and disease (early growth period)
- Disking or harrowing soil (when fertilizer is applied)
- Applying weed-control chemicals (June-August, as needed)
- Pruning (January or February, after planting and before growth starts in the spring)
- Picking/harvesting (October 15-June, depending on variety)

Other activities in the orchard which may provide *temporary* employment opportunities for migrant workers include:

- Pruning/thinning limbs (from diseased or insect infested trees)
- Coating surfaces of trees (after removal of large limbs)
- Providing freeze protection (Winter months as needed)

"Budding", as used in the production of citrus fruit, is a method of propagating healthy citrus stock by grafting a bud from a full grown tree, at least eight years old, onto a younger tree of the same stock.

Once the citrus is harvested, *processing* begins immediately, usually in a shed located in close proximity to the orchard. Shed work activities include:

- Cleaning and sorting fruit
- Packing and crating for shipping
- Loading for transport
- Transporting to market

* *Industry Term*

PEACHES. The peach is a small tree widely grown throughout Louisiana for the soft, juicy, single-seeded fruit of the peach it produces.

The growing of peaches requires two processes which are performed in two separate locations:

- Bud grafting and care of seedlings (small young trees) in and orchard
- Growing and cultivating trees in nursery (for two to three years before they bear fruit)

In Louisiana, there are no known nurseries that produce peach tree seedlings on a commercial scale. Most of the many varieties of peach trees that are grown in orchards in Louisiana are received as seedlings from Tennessee. Therefore, we will only discuss the *production* activities that are performed in a peach orchard that may provide seasonal employment from migrant workers. These *seasonal* activities are:

- Preparing the soil (September-October)
- Terracing and rowing (September-October)
- Transplanting seedlings received from nursery (January-February)
- Pruning trees (January-February)
- "Training" trees (industry term)/shaping
  - — first year of growth (May-July, additionally in February, if needed)
  - — second year of growth (twice during Summer months, additional in late winter if needed)
  - — third year of growth (August, refined again in February)
  - — third year process continues for the life of the tree
- Thinning fruit (approximately March 15th-April 15th)
- Picking/harvesting (May-August)
- Transporting from orchard to shed (May-August)

After peaches are picked, they are transported to the shed which is usually located in close proximity to the orchard. Shed work activities include:

- Cleaning "defuzzing"* (May-August)

* *Industry Term*

- Sorting and grading (May-August)
- Packing for sale or transporting (May-August)
- Loading and transporting to market or cold storage area (May-August)

In the processing of peaches, qualifying activities which may provide *temporary* employment for migratory workers include:

- Washing and sorting
- Peeling
- Cooking
- Gathering peach seeds (stones) to use for growing seedlings
- Canning and labeling
- Packing for transporting
- Loading and transporting

STRAWBERRIES. The strawberry is a low-growing plant having a small red fruit which is also known as a strawberry. The plants have a short growing season of only six to seven months, and the berry itself has a life span of only 24 hours if it is to be picked at the height of its flavor and appearance.

Qualifying activities involved in the production of strawberries are *seasonal* and include:

- Disking, fertilizing and "rowing up"* (industry term) field (June-August)
- Planting cover crop (if used, this crop is clay peas, planted in June)
- Disking peas into soil (August)
- Putting plastic covering over field (August)
- Fertilizing (August-September)
- Setting out "mother"* plants (October-December)
- Spraying for diseases and/or insects (beginning in January, continuing throughout harvest season)
- Irrigating (October-March, as needed depending on rainfall)
- Irrigating for frost and freeze protection (February-March)
- Picking/harvesting berries (March-May)

- Trimming out "daughter"* plants (runner plants) (May)
- Removing plastic and plowing field (June)

After strawberries are picked, they are taken immediately to the shed which is located on the premises or in close proximity to the strawberry field. Shed activities include:

- Cleaning, sorting, grading, packaging fruit (March-May)
- Packing and loading fruit for shipping (March-May)
- Refrigerating for shipping (March-May)
- Shipping and unloading at processing plant or market (March-May)

In the processing of strawberries, activities that provide *temporary* employment are:

- Freezing
- Cooking and preserving
- Packaging
- Packing for transporting
- Loading
- Transporting to market

BLUEBERRIES. The blueberry is a bush or shrub grown for the juicy, blue, purplish or blackish berry it produces. Plants are raised from cuttings or branches from mature bushes, just as rose-bushes are grown.

The life span of the berry is short and quality depends on freshness. Therefore, a high amount of labor is needed, especially during the harvest of the crop.

The industry involved in producing this fruit experiencing growth in Louisiana as well as in other areas of the U.S.

Qualifying *seasonal* activities that migrant workers perform in the growing and harvesting of blueberries in Louisiana include:

- Preparing soil, applying fertilizer and "rowing up"* the field (October and November)
- Gathering cuttings (April-November)
- Planting cuttings into small containers (April-November)

* *Industry Term*

- Transferring new plants into rows (November or March)
- Irrigating (as needed, beginning in early Spring)
- Applying weed control (during growth season, as needed, beginning in March)
- Harvesting/picking (July-September, at least once per week)
- Cleaning, sorting, freezing (as fruit is harvested)
- Clearing old plants and weeds by burning off after harvest (this is usually done after third year of production in order to plant a rotation crop for soil-building)

Other qualifying activities in the immediate *processing* of blueberries at the harvest site are:

- Cleaning (rinsing)
- Packing in cold storage for shipping
- Loading
- Transporting

At the processing plant, activities that may provide employment opportunities for migrant workers must be performed before berries are ready for market include:

- Sorting and grading
- Freezing
- Preserving and cooking
- Canning
- Packaging and Labeling
- Loading and shipping
- Transporting

GENERAL STATEMENTS CONCERNING FRUIT CROPS:. Some other fruit produced in the State are figs, pears, muscadines, and others too numerous to mention, but they are not grown on a commercial scale at this time and therefore, production and processing activities will not be discussed.

Because of their fragile nature, fruit trees or plants must be protected from frost or freezing temperatures, whenever unexpected weather of this type occurs. The grower will need additional *temporary* help during the period of time this protec-

* *Industry Term*

tion is necessary, whether it is to set heaters in the orchard or to irrigate fields of growing plant.

There may be two types of *initial commercial sale:* from the producer/grower to the processor, and/or from the processor to market. Often, the *initial commercial sale* takes place at the shed.

All *directly related activities* that require temporary or seasonal help to produce and/or process fruit crops are qualifying.

Fruit is neither produced nor processed in Louisiana by migrants as a *principal means of personal subsistance.*

Nursery crops

Nursery crops are those plants, such as trees, shrubbery and flowers, which are grown in an area specifically designed for planting, growth and tending of such plants (to be transplanted for use as stocks, or for sale).

The main categories of nursery crops grown in Louisiana include:

- Bedding plants—small enough in size to be arranged in beds
- Floraculture—ornamental and flowering plants
- Foliage plants—grown primarily for decorative foliage
- Woody ornamentals—decorative plants having no flowers
- Turf grass—sod

All seasonal and temporary activities performed in the growing of nursery crops depend on the specific crop and the activities associated with it. With the exception of turf grass, which will be discussed separately, the following activities provide *temporary* employment at a nursery where the crops are grown:

Preparing "beds"* /mixing dirt for "beds"*

Leveling or terracing ground

Fertilizing

Irrigating

* *Industry Term*

- Transferring plants from "beds"* (industry term) to pots
- Fertilizing pots or "bucket"* plants
- Weeding
- Preparing plants for transporting to market
- Transporting to market

The following activities are performed for all nursery crops and must be accomplished at a specific time of the year when it is most beneficial to the individual crop being grown. These *seasonal* qualifying activities are:

- Gathering cuttings, seeds or seedlings
- Rooting cuttings
- Planting cuttings, seeds or seedlings
- Pruning plants (usually only twice in a four-months period)
- Wrapping roots in dormant stages of growth of plant

TURF GRASS. "Turf grass" is that combination of any variety of grass and its roots, bound together with the upper layer of soil, to be used as ground cover. Common varieties grown for this purpose are St. Augustine, Bermuda, Centipede, Ryegrass and Zoysia.

Turf grass, as a nursery crop, is produced and processed on sod farms. *Planting* of a specific variety of turf grass takes place in the Spring of one year, and *harvesting* of that crop is done in the Fall of the next year. Thus, all activities performed on sod farms are considered *seasonal*, taking place from approximately March 1st of the first year through October 15th of the following year.

Qualifying activities during *planting* and *cultivating* seasons which may provide employment include:

- Disking land for planting
- Operating (driving) planting machine
- Plugging grass (into ground) off planting machine
- Irrigating and fertilizing
- Spraying for insect and disease control
- Operating sprayer off vehicle for weed control

* *Industry Term*

- Clipping grass (operating and maintaining tractor for clipping operation)

Qualifying activities during *harvesting* season are:

- Operating (driving) cutting machine
- Working on cutting machine to stack grass
- Operating a forklift to load and unload pallets of grass
- Transferring pallets to trucks
- Transporting grass on trucks to point of initial commercial sale

GENERAL STATEMENTS CONCERNING NURSERY CROPS AND SOD FARMS: Once woody perennial plants reach a certain stage of their growth, they become *trees.* All seasonal and temporary activities *directly related* to the cultivation and harvesting of trees qualify the migratory worker under Part (2) of the definition of *agriculture* in this manual.

The *initial commercial sale* of nursery crops will vary, depending on the variety of the crop, and may take place at any time during the growth stages.

Nursery crops are neither produced nor processed in Louisiana by migrant workers as *a principal means of personal subsistence.*

Centipede is the only variety of grass named above which "re-seeds" itself (from cuttings that have been allowed to fall so that the growth cycle can begin again). Sod farmers usually take "plugs" of grass, which their farm has produced, and plant or plug them off a planting machine during the dormant stage of growth (early Spring).

Directly related activities will be performed by migrant workers who are employed seasonally, or on a temporary basis during the seasons of planting, growth and harvest.

The *initial commercial sale* will be from the sod farmer to the consumer, who may be a nurseryman or an individual.

When turf grass is sold to an individual as the consumer, the workers on the sod farm unload and lay the squares of grass. This may be a qualifying work activity using temporary workers.

Turf grass is neither produced nor processed in Louisiana by migrant workers as a *principal means of personal subsistence.*

Eligibility Clarification Statements

An Historical Perspective

Compiled by
Vidal A. Rivera, Jr.

This chapter contains a synopsis of key statements that have been issued by the U.S. Department of Education to clarify issues of migrant student eligibility. Only a very brief summary of the documents' content is included here.

1975

Children of Hotel and Construction Workers Ineligible for Services

8/7/75

Duane Mattheis, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Education, to Hon. Robert C. Hill, Representative, Virgin Islands.

Agriculture and fishing are the only eligible occupations. There are no others included in the statute.

Ineligibility: Service to Non-migratory Children of Migratory Parents

10/3/75

USOE to Hon. William Hathaway, U.S. Senator.

Children must migrate with parents or guardians to qualify. If the child migrated with parents but doesn't now migrate, child would qualify under the 5-year provision from end of the year in which he or she ceased to migrate. Day-haul workers are not migratory.

1976

Time Eligibility: 5-year Migrants

6/2/76

Richard Fairley, USDE, to Richard Bove, State Director, NY.

A currently migratory child is considered to be currently migratory until the end of the year in which he was so identified. 5-year status begins with the year following the calendar year that the child was in currently migratory status.

Ineligibility Of Children Traveling With Crew Leaders

10/7/76

John Rodríguez, USDE Associate Commissioner, to W.E. Campbell, Chief State School Officer, VA.

Eligible only if legal guardian or someone having full parental responsibility. SEA must certify that such children are legally eligible under the preceeding sentence before eligibility can be accorded.

Ineligibility: Services to Children Traveling with Crew Leaders,

12/19/76

Sarah Kemble, Attorney, Office of General Counsel, USDE, to Patrick Hogan, USDE, Migrant Office.

This attorney's opinion concludes that a crew leader is not a legal guardian or *in loco parentis*. The crew leader solely

supervises the work. If the crew leader had legal custody of the child, the child would qualify.

[Note: this opinion gave impetus to the self-enrollment provision in the regulations.]

1977

MSRTS Eligibility Without Supplementary Instructional Services

1/4/77

J.P. Bertoglio, USDE Migrant Office, to Garlin A. Hicks, SEA, Columbia, SC.

Migrant (currently) children enrolled in a regular school program should be enrolled in MSRTS. No other migrant services given. Legality of, counting for funding issue has not been made clear by Office of General Counsel records. [Important]

5-year Status of Children Never Identified as Currently Migratory Children

1/6/77

John Rodríguez, USDE, to A.W. Ford, Chief State School Officer, AR.

Although the child was not in school at the time that the parents ceased to migrate, he still qualifies as 5-year provision child from parents' ceased-to-migrate date.

Certification of Eligibility Form: Required Information

1/17/77

John Rodríguez, USDE, to Craig Phillips, Chief State School Officer, NC.

OE has not made a final determination on a model form. SEA asked should the migratory child's status be determined by the form as the school official's signature? Sufficient information should be on the form to enable any outside reviewing agent to verify migrant status. OE reviewing if GEPA 438 (b) (1) (13)

requiring notification of a records transfer if notification must be a matter of record.

Ineligibility—No Realistic Opportunity for Migrant Seasonal Employment

3/25/77

Richard Fairley, Director of Disadvantaged, USDE, to Beverly Fortier, State Director, LA.

Vietnamese refugees were relocated to New Orleans, La. Work was sought in fishing in New Orleans but none was available. Brought in by Catholic charities. No realistic opportunity for fishing in New Orleans. Don't qualify those who did gain fishing employment; would qualify if the move was made for that purpose. Initial move to New Orleans was made for relocation purposes, and not to seek work in eligible activities.

Required Annual Signature of Parental Concurrence for 5-year Migrant

5/10/77

Richard Fairly, USDE, to Frank Contreras, State Director, TX.

No automatic eligibility. Quotes section 122(a)(3) of Title I original statute. Concurrence may be required annually; however, parental signatures not required by statute.

Ineligibility: Other Mobile Populations not Agricultural or Fishing

7/21/77

John Rodríguez, Associate Commissioner, USDE, to John C. Stennis, U.S. Senate.

Children of migrants other than agricultural or fishing do not qualify. Statute is specific with regards to agricultural and fishing, processing, etc. Migrant funds were not intended to be like impact aid funds. They must be used for supplemental education and support services for eligible migratory children.

Eligibility Form, NC

7/31/77

John Rodríguez, Associate Commissioner, USDE, to Hon. Craig Phillips, Chief State School Officer, NC.

Response to SEA request to review proposed State eligibility form. USDE cites basic elements that a form must contain (7 elements). Defines intent of certification and signatures of school officials, quality of information and assurances.

School Authorization Signature

11/9/77

Richard Fairley, Division Director, Compensatory Education, USDE, to Richard Bove, State Director, NY.

The Chief State School Officer is ultimately responsible. The State may delegate to other individuals; however, it must keep official documentation of the delegation or census taking assignment because the State is the ultimate responsible authority (SEA assigns census takers authority for signing, validating, and enrolling eligible migrant students in MSRTS). OK, but keep documents.

Criteria of Eligibility

11/9/77

Al Alford, Asst. Commissioner for Legislation, USDE, to Hon. William Hathaway, U.S. Senate.

1. Occupational status of the family. 2. Demonstrated needs of the child, not family income program determiner. This letter is a general description of the migrant education program.

Response to Four Questions Regarding Eligibility (Identification)

11/19/77

Richard Fairley, Division Director, D.E.D., USDE, to Otis Baker, SEA, Jefferson City, MO.

Responds to question of part-time and full-time employment. Discusses intent of move; 5-year provision; parent signature.

1978

Issues in Development of Final Regulations for the Migrant Education Program Under §122 of Title I

6/14/78

Office of Elementary and Secondary Education to John Ellis, Commissioner of Education.

Secretary of HEW regards major items in final regulations that are regarded as major issues. Each is analyzed. Agricultural activity revised to be more specific. Evidence of child eligibility: no proof of migrancy or civil status required. Illegal aliens: guidance requested, now OK. No crew leaders unless having full custody of child.

Service to Migrant Children not in MSRTS

7/18/78

Richard Fairley, Division Director, Education For Disadvantaged Children, To Vernon Gutjahr, National Council of La Raza.

Educational services based on eligibility and need as required in regulations and statutes. MSRTS is not required but is encouraged. Students not enrolled in MSRTS will not be counted for funding. There is no regulatory or statutory requirement for denying services to migrants because they are not on MSRTS.

Teenage Migrant Enrollment Without Parent or Guardian Signature and Married CPL15-21

8/25/78

Richard Fairley, Division Director, Education for the Disadvantaged, USDE, to Benjamin Hollis, SEA, Columbia, SC.

For currently migratory students, no signature required. For formerly, necessary only to concur continuation as migrant. Annual concurrence on formerly needed. Agency attests to eligibility based on facts. Authorized official attests to validity of facts by signature.

Final Regulations For Migrant Education Program Highlights

11/30/78

John Rodríguez, Asst. Commissioner for Compensatory Education, USDE, to Chief State School Officers.

Announces publication of final regulations 11-13-78, supercedes interim final regulations of 7-13-77, highlights major provisions of regulations, expands and clarifies definitions of currently and formerly, documentary evidence, *deletes requirement of annual parent signature for formerly migratory children.*

1979

Cultivating and Harvesting of Trees as a Crop

1/5/79

V.A. Rivera, Chief, Migrant Branch, USDE, to José García, State Director, SEA, Salem, OR.

Letter defines harvesting as used in broad sense: the act or process of gathering. Crops need not be purposefully planted and cultivated. Same applies to harvest of a wild crop of berries and trees. It is an agricultural activity and qualifies.

California Constituent Concerned About Some Children Served in California but Not Migratory

3/26/79

Earnest Boyer, USOE Commissioner, to Hon. Robert Largomarsino, U.S. Representative, CA.

Restates the eligibility provision of the statute—migrant service based on need and migratory status is not predicated on moves during school year, but on 12-month cycle. Parents cannot be held liable for erroneous elgibility information and signatures.

Migrant Education Program Compliance with Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974

3/29/79

John Rodríguez, Associate Commissioner, Compensatory Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

Cites that the act is applicable to migrant education because of transfer of records (MSRTS). SEA required to safeguard data.

Response to Eight Questions Concerning Major Program Issues

7/6/79

V.A. Rivera, Chief Migrant Branch, USDE, to Ms. Amy Heintz, SEA, Carson City, NV.

Extensive explanations of eligibility issues and program requirements, eligible activities, harvesting of trees, fish farms, tree farms, parent signatures, MSRTS FTE, skills system, defines recruitment. A comprehensive document.

Defines Approach to Fund Summer Programs

7/30/79

Mary F. Berry, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Education, USDE, to Hon. Wayne Teague, Chief State School Officer, Montgomery, AL.

Summer programs to be funded on the basis of participation, not residency in State. State will receive base amount based on residency and an additional amount based on numbers of children (FTE) participating in summer programs.

Automatic Enrollments of 5-year Provision Migrant Children

11/26/79

V.A. Rivera, Acting Director, Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

Reminder to States concerning approval of automatic enrollment for 5-year provision children. Validation of lists by SEA before December 31 of year before MPAS run.

1980

MSRTS Records Retention, and Period of Retention Time for Audit Purposes

2/12/80

V.A. Rivera, Acting Director, Migrant Education, USDE, to Ms. Joleta Reynolds, SEA, Nashville, TN.

1. SEA is responsible, regardless of where documents are kept (SEA/LEA).

2. Student enrollment form or eligibility form. Forms should contain enough information to establish eligibility, including signature of authorized school representative attesting to source of reliability of information. MSRTS records terminal operator procedural instructions. Save 5 years after end of project period; more if under audit.

Adjustment of the Count of Migratory Children in Summer Term Projects

5/8/80

V.A. Rivera, Acting Director, Division of Migrant Education, to SEA Migrant Education Directors.

Describes to States how the summer term migrant children being served are to be entered into MSRTS for formula FTE count adjustment. Enroll with **S** indicator in status block on MSRTS; *withdraw on ending date of summer program, or when child leaves if prior to end of summer program, re-enroll for regular term.*

Immigrant and Refugee Children Eligible for Migrant Education Program Services

6/16/80

V.A. Rivera, Acting Deputy Asst. Secretary for Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

The initial international move as refugee does not qualify; subsequent move for agricultural or fishing purposes in accordance with statute qualifies. Moves for the purposes of obtaining other than agricultural or fishing work and securing agricultural or fishing work does not qualify (intent).

Retention of Pertinent MSRTS-related Documents

7/9/80

V.A. Rivera, Acting Deputy Asst. Secretary for Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

Outlines the pertinent program documents to be retained as well as MSRTS documents to be retained for federal inspection and audits. Eligibility/authorization forms; originals most important. Also, MSRTS record form. Other items listed. SEA is responsible.

Eligibility of Children Born 9 Months After Date of Qualifying Move

8/13/80

V.A. Rivera, Acting Deputy Asst. Secretary, Migrant Education, USDE, to Ronnie Glover, Migrant Director, SEA, Baton Rouge, LA.

Cites regulatory provision of age factors, birth through 21. A child not born prior to migrant move does not qualify even though parents are or were migratory. The unborn child does not meet the birth to 21 provisio. Any move after birth would qualify the child.

Defines "Temporary or Seasonal Employment"

9/16/80

V.A. Rivera, Acting Deputy Asst. Secretary For Migrant, USDE, to Bob Youngblood, Migrant Director, SEA, Raleigh, NC.

Agency discretion judgement call based on occupation facts. Words not strictly defined according to a time period (1 month, 2 months, etc.). Seasonal: planting, cultivating, harvesting. Temporary: manpower needs of food processor, clearing land, harvest trees, etc., associated with completion of a specific activity Describes intent to secure.

Identification and Recruitment of Children: Priority of Service, Needs Assessment Procedure

11/12/80

V.A. Rivera, Deputy Asst. Secretary of Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

A comprehensive directive discussing the identification of children, areas to be served. Defines terms of identification and

recruitment needs assessments and enrollment into services. [Important document.]

Definitions of Migratory Agricultural Worker and Migratory Fisher; Clarification of Temporary or Seasonal

11/24/80

V.A. Rivera, Deputy Ass't. Secretary, Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

Restates regulatory definitions of migratory agricultural worker and migratory fisher as persons who move from one district to another in the past 12 months to enable to obtain seasonal or temporary work in agriculture or fishing. Restates the temporary or seasonal judgement (all—non year round constant employment).

Provision of Title I ESEA Basic Program Services to Migratory Children

11/26/80

V.A. Rivera, Deputy Asst. Secretary of Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors.

A comprehensive document explaining the interrelationships of services provided by Title I Basic and Title I Migrant. Cites conditions upon which program services are established and provided.

1981

Eligibility of Certain Children for Migrant Program Services

1/14/81

V.A. Rivera, Deputy Asst. Secretary for Migrant Education, USED, to Robert Smith, SEA, Tallahassee, FL.

Discusses activities associated with agriculture. Eligibility criteria and services to aliens based on qualifying moves into U.S.

Appropriateness of Day Care Under ESEA Title 1-M Educational Program in Questionable Cases

2/2/81

V.A. Rivera, Deputy Asst. Secretary For Migrant Education, USDE, to Mr. Jay McCallum, SEA, Helena, MT.

Pre-school services are educational services provided from birth to 21 years of age (instructional or learning objectives). Day care for purely custodial purposes may be provided only if it enables the older, eligible sibling to attend program class. As a support service only on the aforementioned conditions. Day care services releasing for evening school studies not permissable.

Identification and Recruitment of Migratory Children, Qualifying Moves Title I, ESEA, Migrant Education Program

7/23/81

V.A. Rivera, Deputy Asst. Secretary, Migrant Education, USDE, to SEA Migrant Directors

Concerns qualifying moves made in other States. Presents case studies (examples). A child is eligible in a State program (5-year) if the qualifying move was made elsewhere. A State must make its own eligibility determination and should not totally rely on determinations made by other States. (Established initial base for acronym, "LQM".)

1983

Documentation to Be Retained for Federal Audits: Request for Advice

8/9/83

Lawrence Davenport, Asst. Secretary for Elementary/Secondary Education, USDE, to L.D. Knight, SEA Migrant Director, Franfort, KY.

Maintain eligibility and parent authorization forms; need to indicate on State form temporary/seasonal and describe activity if it is temporary (not necessary for seasonal). (Refer to

7-9-80 directive on retention of pertinent MSRTS documents)
Related documents: 5 years after completion of project.

1984

Technical Amendments to ECIA of 81(Public Law 98-211,12-8-83), Portions Affecting Migrant Education

2/14/84

Lawrence Davenport, Asst. Secretary, Elementary and Secondary Education, to Chief State School Officers

Section 1(a) alters section 555(b) of ECIA; continues the definition of agricultural activities, currently migratory child, and fishing activity as they were on 6-30-82. No other definitions can be added.

The State Of The Art

What We Have Learned from the Programmatic Ethnographies

By
Michael Reed, Ph.D.

Overview

The following constitutes an initial attempt to draw together many strands of data captured in the study of migrant recruitment as viewed from a program perspective (as opposed to a "client" or parent perspective). It encapsulates, as accurately as possible, the key issues and insights which have emerged from a five-month, on-site observation of the inner workings of recruitment within nine representative migrant education programs. The major focus of our study centered on the organization and implementation of recruitment from the State level down through various administrative infrastructures, focusing ultimately on the recruiter.

Purpose of the Study

The intent behind the nation-wide study conducted under the ægis of the I&R project was to define clearly the

parameters of recruitment as it currently operates throughout the States. It was anticipated that once such a body of knowledge was collected and disseminated, it would provide all concerned with an accurate cross section of operating policies and techniques within the migrant education program.

The instructive value of such a comparative study was also an expected outcome. SEA's and LEA's can no doubt draw from identified strengths found in the recruitment effort, while simultaneously exerting an effort to avoid weaknesses.

As a final task, the ethnographers were charged with formulating a list of the most pressing issues and concerns as expressed by those most closely involved with the identification process. This elaboration of issues will subsequently be employed in the major content areas of the training package to be produced by the I&R Project. It is hoped that readers of this report come to fully appreciate the thoroughness and professionalism of the field study. This comprehensive approach is designed to help to ensure a direct hit between the content of training material and the *real* needs of field personnel.

Methodology for the Study

The ethnographic research, which stands as the cornerstone of this project, sets it apart from its predecessors. "Ethnography" literally means "recording from life." This quotation truly encapsulates the process used to collect the data from the field.

By no means can this study be portrayed as superficial or removed. The ethnographers spent six solid months traveling through nine representative States. They conducted hundreds of in-depth interviews and logged thousands of miles to guarantee the validity and thoroughness of their effort. In no State did they stay less than two weeks and in the three homebase States most stayed an entire month. They recorded conversations with all levels of personnel who indicated involvement with the migrant program.

These conversations and observations yielded over 500 pages of field notes, from which the conclusions in this report were drawn. The results reported herein represent the culmination of a constant process of analysis and synthesis by the

ethnographers. The final phase of this analysis took the form of a two- day summary meeting in which all conclusions were cross-checked among the three ethnographers as a final means of re-verification.

Extra attention needs to be given by the reader in order to fully comprehend the process used by the ethnographic team in deriving conclusions and specifying the key issues. The technique is *not*, as with many studies, characterized by the formulation of global conclusions based upon extrapolation from a small, tightly collected set of data. Quite the opposite, ethnography relies on the amassing of volumes of data—data collected in the form of people's own statements about their job and how they go about it.

Thus, what are projected in this text as the conclusions made by the researchers, are in fact nothing more than establishing the realities in recruitment through the gathering of consistent patterns of responses.

For example, if the ethnographers concluded that constant feedback is a major element in the repertoire of a good administrator, one might be tempted to react by saying this is a value judgement made by an outsider. But in essence it is not, since the conclusion has already been made by people working in the field. All the ethnographers have done is to record the responses from recruiters and administrators when they were posed with the question, "What do you think are the characteristics of a good administrator?" The infrequently registered responses are discarded while the consistent, patterned answers form the basis for the summaries.

It should be clearly understood that the vast majority of observations presented herein, except those appearing in the CONCLUSIONS section, represent the conclusions emerging from the ethnographic research. The effort is fundamentally one of extracting and reporting basic trends and issues from around the nation.

Administrative Setups

The ethnographic studies revealed three basic models of administration for recruitment programs:

1. EXCLUSIVELY STATE-OPERATED—recruiters are hired, trained, and supervised by State personnel;

2. REGIONAL ASSISTANCE WITH LOCAL CONTROL—State articulation of goals with regional service centers, but predominant local control; and

3. LOCAL RECRUITMENT SYSTEM—General direction, policies and goals emanating from the State, but real control and decision-making resting at the local level; priorities and communications proceed directly from the State office to the LEA; no regional intermediary exists as in #2.

Bear in mind that these represent global models, and many States may have, in fact, decided upon a blend of these models. All of these models, by virtue of the types of interactions they tend to foster between administrative personnel and recruiters, have definite consequences regarding the way in which recruitment is ultimately conducted.

Exclusively State-operated Recruitment

The State-controlled model tends inherently to ensure direct linkage between the State offices and recruiters. Communiques and policy statements are generally not filtered through a second layer of administration, leaving recruiters with the feeling that they have direct access to State personnel and a clear picture of the State's objectives. Recruiters operating within this structure generally feel the State office can be called at any time for any recruitment-related issue. The absence of significant local control avoids the likelihood that recruiters in the State-run model will ever find a local project inundating them with job duties unrelated to pure recruitment activities.

On the reverse side, this model contains the potential liability of creating considerable physical and psychological distancing between recruiter and local project personnel. Because a recruiter is paid by the State, primary responsibility and allegiance move in that direction.

Frequently, State-paid recruiters operate from their home and cover a wide geographic area. This has two effects. First it tends to lessen the amount of daily contact with a local supervisor. Second, the recruiters in this system tend to feel somewhat isolated, having a low level of communication and contact with other recruiters in the State. It should be added that this model seems inconceivable for larger States, due to

the impracticality of hiring, supervising, training, and paying hundreds of recruiters through a central agency.

Regional Centers with Local Supervision

The regional model was ostensibly developed to fill a need in many larger States, wherein there is a requirement for an intermediary agency between the State and local administrative levels. Regionally-based, supportive centers have been created to supply direction and technical assistance to the numerous district- or county-run programs operating within a center's sphere of influence.

The existence of such intermediary agencies affords the State a go-between type of arrangement which facilitates communication of recruitment policies, goals and issues to the local level. Training and communication by memo or phone constitute the main techniques for dissemination of recruitment information to the locals. Despite the presence of these regional migrant centers, it has become quite apparent through our studies, that most of the real control in recruitment still remains at the local level.

The regional concept has inherent value. Most evident is the vital role which is performed by solving the logistical nightmares faced by large States who would otherwise be forced to supply a large cadre of trainers at the State level. Additionally, they would be caught in the unenviable position of having to channel all recruitment issues directly from the State level to hundreds of locals.

The potential for serious breakdowns also lies within this model. Regional centers often approach local projects with a decided trepidation or deference. These agencies have frequently been promoted solely as technical assistance centers, and have no real monitoring power at the local level. The ethnographers noted a high degree of optionality regarding use of center personnel or compliance with their recommendations. This can and does result in a high degree of variation in recruitment quality within a given region.

Additionally, the regional center's commitment to the State's recruitment goals and recommendations has a direct bearing on the quality of the information which ultimately gets transferred to the locals. In some regional centers staffed entirely by "generalists" (employees expected to serve as experts

in a wide range of areas), one may find questionable commitment to recruitment. The emphasis on recruitment or lack thereof being projected from a particular regional center may simply be a function of the degree of recruitment expertise found within a regional center. For example, a regional center may employ three curriculum specialists and an MSRTS trainer. Understandably, none of these professionals may place recruitment high on their list of interests or priorities. Where little expertise or commitment exists, one can expect reduction in the emphasis on recruitment in those locals serviced by a center.

Locally Dominated Recruitment

The local model holds the promise of excellent communication between the local administrator and his cadre of recruiters. Input from the State can be filtered directly from the State to the local administrator and immediately on to recruiters. Strong bonds of loyalty and dedication to recruitment can be fostered in a system wherein there exists only one bureaucratic layer between the recruiters and the State.

Unfortunately, the flip side of total local control reveals the possibility for breakdowns due to two phenomena. First, the local may become autonomous to the extent that a disregard develops for State-sponsored initiatives, policy changes, innovations, training, etc. Recruiters are often victimized by a political posturing for control. For example, recruiters may be discouraged from going to State training; they may be advised against enrolling migrants engaged in a particular profession approved by the State, or they may be told to ignore particular recruiting practices recommended by the State Educational Agency.

Second, local control may eventually translate into a stultifying level of control by the local school system. Recruiters may find themselves at the beck and call of a school administrator who often does not hesitate to syphon off their time with matters totally unrelated to recruitment *per se*. The ethnographers found recruiters performing activities such as answering the telephone, interpreting for *all* Hispanic parents in a given district, and xeroxing school materials—all obvious distractors to the recruitment process. More will be mentioned in the ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES section about this tendency for locally-operated school systems to overload the recruiter with

non-recruitment related matters. But in the process of describing administrative models, this potential pitfall of the locally oriented recruitment model should not be minimized. It has developed into a widespread practice which detracts from recruiter effectiveness.

General Prototypes of Recruiters

One might expect an elaboration of the optimal recruiter to commence with a delineation of those personal qualities which predict for successful identification and rewarding interaction with parents. Indeed, these traits, or the absence of them, have inescapable consequences on the ultimate effectiveness of a recruitment operation.

However, as detected by the ethnographies, without a proper distribution of duties, a recruiter's natural talents never become engaged and recruiter effectiveness suffers as an outcome. To reach optimal effectiveness and allow for the full engagement of natural attributes, the administrator responsible for determining a recruiter's job assignments must maximize interaction not only within the school, but also outside with public agencies, and with the families. Recruitment programs were viewed by the ethnographers as drifting toward inefficiency when these balances were violated for one reason or another.

The Home-School Liaison

As garnered from their own descriptions and those offered by supervisors, recruiters who registered the highest level of achievement and job satisfaction were those who truly fulfilled the duties conceptualized by the title, "Home-School Liaison". The articulation of job responsibilities in this model encourages ample, but not excessive, opportunity for the recruiter to connect migrant families with local agencies and the schools in a manner which mitigates the parents' feelings of powerlessness and isolation. This process of helping to forge links with society brings immediate rewards. The ethnographies have established beyond any doubt that recruiters are predictably motivated by helping people, and this liaison service tends to yield high performance and satisfaction. Thus, the

recruiter serving as a true Home-School Liaison is gratified by the prospect of seeing families that are empowered and, consequently, more capable of surviving and contributing to a given community.

The Home Visitor

A second major recruiter classification can be characterized by the term, "Visitor". These are recruiters who spend a significant portion of their time outside the walls of the school, visiting potential families for the purpose of enrolling migrant children. They differ dramatically from their Home-School Liaison counterparts, however, in that they view their interaction to be largely one of consummating a paper transaction with the family. This consists of gathering appropriate data, thus allowing for eventual services. The role of recruiter is not envisioned and acted upon as fundamentally being a mechanism 1) for advocacy, 2) broadening the families' interaction with the community, or 3) serving as the vital link in a referral process. Once the paperwork has been transacted the job is regarded as completed. The Visitor will not generally be found to have the range of community and agency contacts exhibited by the Home-School Liaison worker.

The Visitor, it should be understood, usually travels to the homes armed with all the data necessary for good referral work. However, the ethnographers observed a hesitancy to impart such information unless specifically requested by the parent. Concomitantly, the Visitor does a rather superficial job of explaining the content and purpose of the enrollment form as well as understating the offerings of the migrant education program. This leads to a diminution of the recognition of the migrant education program as a distinct entity. This is detailed further in the section, OTHER ISSUES REVEALED BY THE FIELD RESEARCH.

The School-based Recruiter

This recruiter prototype can best be portrayed as orienting the majority of his or her activities around the school. Virtually all leads emanate from the school system, which would be fine except the over-reliance on this source discourages a search for leads from other sources. This model is usually found in a home base setting. As one ethnographer stated, the last thing which a recruiter operating within this framework would

contemplate is searching for a new population or spending major portions of time tracking down leads in the community. In effect, why should he or she, given the monumental task of enrolling the landslide of children coming through the school doors.

Intriguing Recruitment Trends

A review of the ethnographic data led to some general, inescapable conclusions relative to the manner in which recruiting was being conducted on a national basis. A reveiw of these tendencies follows.

Focus on Limited Segments of Our Population

The very term "identification" presupposes that the recruiter searches for leads outside those offered by the school system. Many instances have been revealed in the studies wherein the recruiter plays a very passive, laid-back role with regard to the establishment of contacts outside the immediate school environment.

Many valid reasons for this passive style of recruitment surfaced. Some sites in homebase States were periodically so inundated with returning migrants that it was all they could do to enroll migrants who came through the school doors. Others confessed that funding limitations had forced split duties for the recruiter resulting in reduced opportunity to tap resources outside the school. Still others admitted to built-in disincentives to find more children. Statements such as, "We can't serve those found—why try to find more?" were routinely recorded.

These reasons notwithstanding, the revelation of massive identification being conducted on a sole source basis would tend to violate our popularized notion about recruitment being a search for children behind every bush. Such techniques almost guarantee non-identification of preschoolers or children whose parents do not move within expected or predictable patterns. Recruiters locked into this pattern of identification tend to pick up the same set of children year after year.

The ethnographers noted a distinct trend, in those States having a preponderance of status III children, of finding recruiters who spend a disproportionate amount of time re-enrolling these children, rather than searching out active status children. Since the locations of these previously enrolled families is already known, they are easier to contact than migrants moving through new areas.

The ethnographers suggested that the recruitment process has take on a new level of sophistication in some areas, due to the ever-increasing disappearance of farm labor camps. This relocated work force generally congregates in urban locales which only compounds an already difficult process of identification. An expanded search for new migrants and novel recruitment techniques are requirements for recruitment success in the urban environment.

Recruiters Wear Many Hats

The ethnographers rarely found a recruiter who was exclusively engaged in recruitment functions. Almost all filled multiple roles. Of concern to the migrant education program should be the pervasiveness of recruitment models in which these purportedly ancillary functions often tended to detract from the idealized role of a recruiter.

A large percentage of recruiters simultaneously fill the role of records clerk. Although it might not strike the observer initially, this role of clerk generates very few, if any, positive spin-offs in the recruitment arena. The unanimous opinion of our researchers was that the clerk function, to the extent it engulfed a recruiter's time, detracted from the function of identifying children. Recruitment, as elucidated by the studies, is "people work", which progresses best when the employees venture outside an office and track down, then work with our clients. Clerking is paper work pure and simple. No matter what the apparent logical associations these two functions seem to hold, it is crucial to recognize that they produce no complimentary effects.

Other activities outside the realm of pure recruitment do seem to hold potential for enhancing the identification process. Examples of these activities include working with parent councils, community advocacy work with the parents, translating for parents, etc. Again, the chief concern here is one of extent.

These secondary functions should be well integrated and proportioned with the primary recruitment job duties.

The "Dumping Ground" Dilemma

Locally dominated programs, especially, tend to gravitate toward modes of interaction which invariably syphon off a recruiter's time. Many of these assignments are mutually exclusive to any conceivable recruitment function. The ethnographers described many scenarios in which the recruiters found themselves answering phones for the school secretary, translating for non-migrant families, serving as truant officer for the whole school, filling out MSRTS health and educational forms, etc. To the extent to which this occurred, one could observe a noticeable diminution in recruiter effectiveness. Migrant educators at the State and regional level need to be ever-vigilant of this situation and work creatively to reconstruct an environment in which the predominance of recruiter activities relate to true recruiter functions.

Associated with this situation was the observation by the ethnographers that the recruitment program constantly ran the risk of evolving into a "dumping ground" for the schools, wherein every problematic circumstance related to a particular ethnic group or all the jobs no one else wanted to tackle were often thrust upon the recruiter. "You take care of this; you know these people," surfaced as a stock phrase employed by school officials who found it inconvenient to use regular school personnel to resolve issues with different ethnic groups. It appears to take an alert and aggressive administrator to avoid this "dumping ground" syndrome, but the ethnographies revealed ample models where such detractive functioning had been avoided.

Not to be overlooked, however, are the dynamics of interaction between school and recruiter which provide the motivation for the recruiter to tackle non-recruitment tasks proposed by the school. At the heart of a recruiter's efforts outside the normal line of duty lies a compelling need to remain on good terms with school personnel. Most recruiters regard these extracurricular favors as a convenient format for maintaining the fragile working relationship between themselves and the schools. In effect, they recognize the irreplaceable nature of the leads generated by the schools and are willing to go the extra mile in order to not jeopardize their tenuous status.

Administrative Issues

Given the preceding background, it should be eminently clear that the administrative models which propel a recruitment program forward will be those which strive to foster the Home-School Liaison model. In order to ensure this, the administrator must first comprehend the people-to-people nature of the recruiter's job.

Fully Comprehending the Recruiter's Role

Getting the administrators to comprehend the true scope of the recruiter function emerged as one of the key issues from our national studies. What strikes the casual observer as a small scale problem is, in effect, a concern of inestimable proportions among recruiters.

Those administrators who regard the major thrust of the job as being completion of paperwork will most likely be acting upon these false assumptions in ways which diminish recruiter effectiveness. Paperwork will most probably receive a disproportionate emphasis. This type of manager may be obsessed with the number of enrollments and little else. They will in all likelihood not have the perspicacity or forcefulness to fight for a school environment which avoids those situations which lead toward an ineffective design—namely the "dumping ground" syndrome, or the recruiter engulfed by irrelevant duties.

The misperception or miscalculation of the recruiter function by the administrator results chiefly from an unavoidable mismatch in backgrounds. Supervisors of recruiters generally come from an educational background, and yet recruiter effectiveness depends more on those skills more closely associated with social work. This "job domain" gap between administrator and recruiter is not insurmountable, but to effectively cross the void in understanding requires some extra efforts and sensitivities on the part of the administrator.

Fostering the Liaison Environment

The effective administrator, because he or she comprehends the true nature of the recruiter's job, advocates for a work situation in which the recruiter 1) spends ample time outside

the school looking for leads, 2) eliminates activities which are not complementary to recruitment, and 3) does not allow any system to monopolize or misdirect the recruiter's time. A good administrator for recruitment will persevere in molding the right kind of environment for effective recruitment to take place, even when not politically expedient.

Creating an Appropriate Support System

Being an effective administrator takes more than simply securing a proper distribution of duties. Recruiters want and need *constant* feedback. Routine, direct communication surfaced as one of the irreplaceable mechanisms available to the administrators in developing a positive image with a recruiter.

Recruiters crave the presence of someone who cares enough to ask on a regular basis, "How did that lead turn out," "What do you think about qualifying this family," or "What seems to be frustrating you today?" The ethnographers did encounter recruiters who initially expressed their satisfaction with operating as independent, isolated entities, but further questioning almost invariably revealed an obscured desire to have an administrator involved enough to inquire regularly about their performance.

Recruiters need persistent involvement by their local administrator to feel part of a larger process with a larger mission—that of educating mobile children. Recruiters enjoy feeling like they are an integral part of a team effort. Very few recruiters really want to feel as if they are operating in total isolation and making eligibility decisions alone.

There is a series of obvious barometers available to outside monitors which measure the level of involvement an administrator has achieved with the recruitment staff. A good administrator will have made home visits with each recruiter during each calendar year, will have performed a formal, written evaluation for each recruiter, and evidence will exist that the administrator has installed formal and informal mechanisms for feedback and that these are periodic, not haphazard.

Of interest was the conspicuous absence of written evaluation instruments which were pertinent to the *specific* job duties of the recruiter. The evaluation forms in use were suspiciously similar to those developed by a school system for employees

with related positions but whose job descriptions that did not exactly parallel recruiter duties.

Under a good manager, the local policies and rationale for decisions will be clearly articulated to the recruiters, and recruiters will not feel, as they do in some projects, that they are the last to know. A good administrator will understand eligibility issues thoroughly, thus an outside observer will find a pattern of dialogue between recruiter and administrator relative to troublesome eligibility issues. A good supervisor publicly backs up the recruiter in all situations, and then moves to rectify any problems in a private forum.

Other Issues Revealed by Research

Other issues surfaced in the study which were not expected outcomes, but which still had an undeniable impact on the nature of recruitment.

Fear of Audits

Some of the prevalent recruitment practices in the field tend to beg the question as to whether migrant educators are determining how we enroll children or whether the auditors are determining this process for us. The fear factor is most probably responsible for the over-accumulation of data in some States to prove eligibility. Some States require a previous move before children can be enrolled; others request pay stubs; many States record what appears to be excessive anecdotal data about the move on each COE, while in other States they refrain from enrolling certain populations they believe are eligible, only because those were questioned elsewhere by the auditors.

Such practices have a superficial appeal to those trying to cover all bases against audit exceptions. However, the fear factor has most likely generated these practices and many are patently ill-advised or counterproductive to efficient recruitment. Many of these practices violate a widely accepted principal that the best defense against audits entails the collection of the *minimal* amount of data necessary to ascertain eligibility. In essence, our fear of audits may be driving us to cover ourselves in ways which, when reasoned out, seem to be counterproductive.

Virtually all field personnel queried voiced strong resentment about the extent to which the auditors who reviewed the migrant education program were uninformed about the program and its regulations. Migrant educators were appalled at the lack of background and shallowness of training exhibited by these compliance reviewers who were making bold (and ultimately costly) judgments about the eligibility of students. These officials obviously suffered from a lack of training relative to the agricultural industries they were reviewing. They also showed a disregard for the delicate judgments to be made by both recruiters and administrators in signing people up for services.

No Ultimate Source for Eligibility Questions

What clearly emerged regarding eligibility were two themes:

1. Even with a plethora of support material available such as the *SMART Manual*, the divergence of eligibility interpretations is staggering, and
2. No ultimate authority for resolution of problematic eligibility cases exists (nor is it likely to). Additionally, those sources providing guidance often supply inconsistent and poorly thought-out advice.

The programmatic ethnographies have uncovered some intriguing findings relative to the first theme. As examples, some States still will not qualify children based on qualifying moves to other States. The ethnographers detected a widespread but spurious linking of migrants from Mexico with refugees from southeast Asia. Many Mexicans were forced to make a second move in the United States before a program would enroll them. Some programs would not enroll children unless their education was clearly disrupted, regardless of the nature and extent of the family's move.

These constitute a few of the most vivid samples of divergent interpretations of the guidelines currently being practiced throughout the nation. Part of the situation may stem from the dilemma currently existing whereby there is a conspicuous lack of an absolute, final source to which the States can turn for answers to troublesome or even routine eligibility issues.

Administrators expressed ambivalent feelings about the possibility of having one source for final arbitration of eligi-

bility issues. On the one hand they wanted an authoritative source for advisement. On the other, they still craved some latitude at the local level in making final decisions for inclusion.

Recognition of the Migrant Program As Distinct

We migrant educators like to feel that our program is clearly discernible from the regular school and is universally recognized as being distinct by the parents. The programmatic research yielded an opposite conclusion. The parents, in general, tend to become aware of the migrant program's existence *only* where it is constructed as something truly distinct from the normal school program.

Examples of this would be 1) migrant preschool, 2) daycare, 3) evening or Saturday programs, and 4) summer programs. In the absence of a program functioning clearly outside the auspices of the school, the migrant education program tended to take on a blurred image in the minds of the migrant parents and ultimately came to be viewed as indistinguishable from the rest of the pack.

The Label "Migrant"

The second phase of our study will provide a detailed look at the reactions of different mobile populations to the term "migrant." Without drawing any detailed conclusions, we can categorically affirm that the problems caused by the term have created an issue of considerable proportions.

The seasonal migrants who move in established patterns seem to have little problem with the word migrant. However, almost all populations who do not fit squarely into this mold view the term as having pejorative overtones. So the real question to be investigated is, "To what extent and to which mobile agricultural workers does the term give offense?"

In essence, when the program was conceived and the associated terms and definitions were articulated, the originators conceptualized that the preponderance of enrollments would fit the *Grapes-of-Wrath* model, seasonal migrants who traveled within an established work route. Twenty years later we find that perhaps as much as 40% of our migrant population does not correspond with this popularized image of the migrant work force. Today we find within the migrant ranks, people of

all ethnic backgrounds. These are workers who may move unpredictably to fish, log, perform dairy work or engage in food processing. And they do not fit the *Grapes-of-Wrath* image. Consequently, many adults included in the program rather vociferously reject the association of the word "migrant" with themselves and their lifestyles.

Summing up the dilemma, I refer to one recruiter who stated that with her particular population, she had "one-hundred-and-one ways not to say the word migrant." Not to be underestimated either, the word migrant sounds precariously similar to *"la migra,"* which is the Spanish term for the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Guilt by association probably accounts for an untold number of misunderstandings between our recruiters and the Hispanic community.

Homebase vs. Receiving States

Much has been said but little has been written about the differences between homebase and receiving States, particularly with respect to recruitment. The ethnographers investigated just this question.

The major recruitment differences between homebase and receiving States seem to be dictated by numbers and numbers alone. Recruiters in receiving States have a hard time visualizing the consequences of having 5,000 students arrive in one school district within a three-month time span. Sheer numbers dictate that enrollments in many parts of a homebase State must be performed as rapidly as children enter the district

Those not identified within the school setting will most likely never be found, but this should not diminish the fact that tens of thousands *are* enrolled in this manner. To encapsulate recruitment in high impact areas, one might say that numbers alone determine the priorities and how recruitment is conducted. One should not expect to find a recruitment program in high impact areas to devote major resources to pursuing migrant populations engaged in some of the more fringe professions.

This description is not designed to leave the impression that the high-impact, homebase district has no alternatives other than the school-based recruiter described earlier. The preponderance of children arriving at predictable times during the year does necessitate some creative structuring of recruit-

ment by the local administrator in order to guarantee a search for children through organizations other than the school. Administrators should not overlook the innovative techniques for handling overloads which a proximate migrant education program may have been utilizing for years.

The ethnographers reported that excellent recruitment structures and techniques were available to those administrators in high impact areas who wanted to identify all children. But the discovery of such models does require a search beyond the local project.

Another distinct aspect of the homebase recruiting detected by the ethnographers was the heightened proportion of status II children. This is understandable given the larger area encompassed by the three major homebase States and the huge variety of crops and growing seasons within these States' borders. As a superb example, one State had four different growing seasons for tomatoes all within a 100 mile radius.

Receiving States and low impact areas in homebase States face a more manageable situation with regard to the influx of children. Of course, each receiving State can point to areas of intensive migration during the non-winter months, but we have yet to find a county in a receiving State which confronts an influx of 5,000 migrants in two months. Summer recruitment in receiving States, although harried at times, generally sets the goal of finding every migrant behind every bush. The recruitment tactics rarely find the recruiter ensconced in a school, waiting passively for the entry of children. Most are truly engaged in beating the bushes for new enrollments.

The manageability of numbers and more regulated movement of migrants throughout the year mean that receiving States can devote more time to consideration of mobile workers outside of well-established migrant occupations. Receiving States and low-populated areas in homebase States predictably enroll small clusters of migrants engaged in diverse activities. Additionally, they devote more time to sending interstate movement communiques and considering eligibility problems—all because their numbers allow them more time to pursue these endeavors. The ethnographers detected a widespread, but erroneous, conclusion held by receiving State personnel that children returning to homebase States are never found and enrolled, having gotten "lost in the sauce."

Although appealing, this perception was not substantiated by the ethnographers. Homebase States are straining their resources, endeavoring to enroll all migrant children within their power. They are doing an effective job of recruiting, and seem to be refining their techniques with every passing year. Receiving States need to understand the extent to which the sheer force of numbers works against the enrollment of every last child.

National Confusion over "Temporary"

The ethnographers detected a national state of uncertainty linked to enrollments predicated upon the *temporary* rather than *seasonal* nature of the work. Notable examples of temporary occupations are food processing jobs and migrant dairy workers.

Indecision reigned at the highest levels of administration about the validity of qualifying these workers through the temporary quality of their residence. Especially troublesome was the knowledge that many such industries project the illusion of permanency to auditors, due to their year-round operations. However, closer scrutiny of these industries and their work forces revealed high rates of instability and turnover. These fluctuations were directly attributable to peaks and valleys caused by weather, poor work conditions, and low wages.

Even when a State had comfortably reconciled the inclusion of such workers, there were unanswered questions concerning just how to document the temporary aspect on the COE. Recruitment staff wondered whether to enroll families based on 1) statistics showing turnover rates of the work force, 2) statements about peaks and valleys received from industry spokesmen, or 3) statements from the parents about their intention to stay or leave. All three sources or even a combination thereof could represent valid approaches. However, given the lack of an authoritative source for guidance as pointed out earlier, migrant personnel find themselves continuing to enroll these populations with a degree of bewilderment and trepidation.

System Disincentives against Total Enrollment

Our studies unearthed some ingrained disincentives operating within the migrant education program (as currently legislated), which mitigate against the enrollment of *every* migrant child. Whether or not any changes will come about as a result of this awareness remains to be seen, but at least the realization that these forces work against total recruitment, may sow the seeds for some reforms.

It should be remembered first that the majority of administrators who operate local programs have training as educators. As such, they tend to evaluate a program's worth primarily in terms of the educational services rendered to a given migrant population. They tend to downplay the validity of equating service with the liaison work performed by recruiters.

Thus, when allocations shrink or are capped, these educators tend to implicitly or explicitly curtail enrollment of additional children, sensing that current funding barely allows for ample tutorial instruction of the existing population. Enrolling more children, they reason, appears inadvisable since it runs the risk of antagonizing parents who sign papers year after year and receive only the hollow promise of benefits at a future date.

The migrant legislation itself contains some obvious disincentives to total enrollment. With national funding capped, the impetus to strain one's recruitment staff in finding every last child seems fatuous at best.

The exclusion of preschoolers in the funding formula automatically serves as a disincentive to their enrollment. Finally, what field staff rightly or wrongly perceive as draconian tactics of auditors has, in many locales, stymied the pursuit of any migrant populations which do not fit squarely within the *Grapes-of-Wrath* image. This fact alone accounts for the non-enrollment of thousands of eligible children.

The Absence of Recruitment Plans

Our on-site surveys concluded that very few *local* projects submit a yearly recruitment plan to a State or regional office. The absence of a plan diminishes the possibility of valid monitoring of recruitment activity by a higher level of administration. It is impossible to monitor without a structure or format

within which to observe the recruitment operation at a local site.

Lack of a recruitment plan usually relegates the monitoring function to a compliance check on accuracy and thoroughness of the COE. Completion of the COE only represents a minuscule portion of the entire identification effort. Another end result of not having locals submit a plan is the non-necessity to examine and re-examine past performances and techniques.

Conclusions

Whereas in the previous section the author attempted to report the findings as expressed by the ethnographers, in this final section he professes no such objectivity. The conclusions expressed hereafter are solely his own and should in no way be construed as those proffered by the research team.

The need for new awarenesses about the recruitment process emerges as a key theme from the programmatic ethnographies. As a prime example, a State Educational Agency can benefit immensely from an awareness of the potential strengths and vulnerabilities of its current administrative setup. Given this elaboration, the SEA might be motivated to re-examine its infrastructure to enhance the strong points and shore up any weak links.

The awareness that most recruitment supervisors possess an educational background and yet find themselves in a position of supervising personnel (i.e. recruiters) engaged in activities more akin to social work, does not automatically translate into misunderstandings.

However, without a special effort on the part of the administrator to comprehend the true nature of recruitment work, the field is laid for inappropriate supervision.

Local administrators should strive to create an environment conducive to the operation of the Home-School Liaison model. The Visitor and the School Recruiter prototypes tend to run counter to the ideals which the national migrant education community espouses and promotes. Therefore, they should be avoided whenever possible.

The guiding principle of State, regional and local authorities needs to be one of vigilance. These authorities need to maintain a steady vigil to avoid the "dumping ground" syndrome or the "engulfed" recruiter. Vigilance is also demanded to counter the trend of saturating the recruiter with job functions antithetical to the Home-School Liaison description.

Given the types of decisions brought on by fear of audits, it appears that the time is propitious for States to take full command of the decisions on how and why children should be enrolled in the migrant education program. This will allow us to readjust our thinking and base enrollment decisions on collective wisdom rather than collective fear.

The State directors should take whatever means necessary to create and promote products which outline the processes for making sound eligibility decisions and securing audit-exception-free files. Pursuing the false hope of finding a sole source to adjudicate all questionable eligibility cases appears equivalent to the pursuit of the golden fleece. Therefore, in the absence of such an authority, States must be encouraged to band together for the formulation of policy decisions and techniques which appear to align them with the intent of the law, while simultaneously protecting them.

Maintaining the term migrant, will continue to exact a cost in terms of time and money. Countless hours are expended every day across the nation in our public relations drive with school personnel and community agencies to counter a mindset which perceives migrants only along one dimension. The focused ethnographies will show the extent to which various enrolled populations reject the migrant label. But even without this knowledge we can be certain that inappropriate labelling has a dramatic impact on those who seek out our program for service. The ultimate toll in terms of lost enrollments may be higher than we expect.

Making recommendations as to how to rectify built-in disincentives to enrollment does not come under the purview of this report. Suffice it to say that the awareness of these disincentives should supply ample impetus to concerned leaders for initiation of some change.

Finally, the need to motivate all locals to submit a recruitment plan should be obvious. Effective monitoring cannot take place without a plan, and the motivation for serious self-ex-

amination and self-improvement does not appear to be present without the universal requirement for one.

Ethnographic Report

An Ethnography of Migrant Farm Worker Educational Opportunities

By
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Executive Summary

The I&R contract conducted by the Migrant Education Division of the Pennsylvania State Department of Education was federally funded through discretionary funds from the Secretary of Education, U. S. Department of Education. The purpose of the project was to provide a state-of-the-art mechanism for identifying and dealing with the problems surrounding the provision of educational services to the children of migrant farmworkers.

The project utilized a focused ethnographic research methodology. The data collected through the project allowed the creation of summaries that provided the development of training materials useful in the training of migrant education recruiters and the supervisors of migrant education recruiters. The project research was divided into two phases. The first was

a programmatic ethnography that focused on the migrant education programs in nine states. The second was a field-based ethnography focusing on the beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the United States towards education in general, and the migrant education program in particular.

The programmatic ethnography produced key findings about the recruitment process, and produced ideal models for:

- Recruitment programs (based on the size and migrant populations of the states)
- Recruitment administration
- The hiring, training, and daily work activities of migrant personnel.

The focused field ethnographies produced important information about migrant attitudes towards education, which can lead to reductions in drop out rates for migrants, increased efficiency in the migrant education program, and improved levels of participation of migrants in the outreach and participatory programs directed at them. The ethnographies also produced information on why migrants use, or avoid the programs, what they perceive their most pressing educational needs to be, and provided a mechanism for understanding the process of migration.

The latter is a key to understanding how best to provide services to migrant and seasonal laborers. These findings are summarized below and should form the basis for numerous policy recommendations; recommendations based on the structure of a system, the beliefs and behaviors of the participants, and the directions that a program is taking.

Special Problems and Needs Affecting Migrant Education

Some of the special problems that migrant children face in relation to education programs were documented in the ethnography. These include:

MOVING. The quotes in the ethnographic data above show the stresses on the children that build up from having to constantly say goodby to people who have just become friends. It makes the transition to the next place hard, even if that place is back to their home town.

ARRIVING LATE AND LEAVING EARLY. One ethnographer was interviewing a teenager who had been missing school and acting out. It turned out that he was skipping going to his new school because he was mad at his parents. If they had delayed their move by only three days, he would have received full credit for his school year. Now, due to the school policy of his homebase State, he would have to repeat the year.

ISOLATION. Children, especially adolescents, need to socialize. That issue should be a part of any migrant summer program. Many of the children were the only culturally different kids around and they felt a need to at least occasionally talk to someone like them.

CHANGING SCHOOLS AND CURRICULA. Many migrant children feel like ping pong balls as they are bounced from one curriculum to another, often going up or down a grade by taking a different standardized test. Migrant children, since the timing of subjects differs from school district to school district, often get half a subject every time they change schools.

NO ONE TO TALK TO. The children tend to be shy, since they have personally experienced discrimination in several forms, as well as always being the new kid on the block. When they see counselors and other important people looking very busy, they tend not to seek help. Help must often be actively offered to them, not just "made available".

LANGUAGE. Migrant children come from many different cultural backgrounds. This always creates certain language barriers and needs for them. As can be seen from the section on BILINGUAL EDUCATION, the experience the kids have is very mixed, and so are their reactions. One thing that is a very common outcome of their language experiences is a fear of talking in class, even when they know the answer, for fear of being laughed at or criticized for having an accent.

FALLING BEHIND. Some of the children survive and thrive on migration, but many more of them constantly fall behind. The only way for many of them to ever catch up, as documented in the ethnography, is for them to participate in the migrant education program.

THE ECONOMICS OF MIGRANT LABOR. If the children are needed in the fields, in order for the family to survive, then that will take precedence over education or any other need the child may have.

SELF-ESTEEM. Many of the conditions that impact on migrant children (poverty, being strangers, being culturally different, being behind in school, making friends only to move on again, etc.) tend to clobber their self-esteem. This makes it hard for them to be successful in school and needs to be taken into account in designing programs to meet their needs.

Each of the above needs affects the migrant child's educational progress, and, when present in combination, often overwhelm it. But they do not produce the whole picture of the things that have an influence on the success or failure of a migrant child in the educational system. The ethnographers identified several contributing factors.

THE SUPPORT FACTOR. Every child who successfully completed his or her high school education was supported by at least one family member. Sometimes it was a parent; equally often it was a brother or sister, aunt, uncle, cousin, or grandparent. The child had to want to succeed, but at the same time there always seemed to be a significant "other" helping. This role needs to be taken into account and supported when dealing with migrant drop-out issues.

But there is also an economic support factor to be taken into account. Even when the child is primed for success far above the average, he or she can be blocked. One student who had been unable to go to college because the family made too much money to qualify for most types of support, but made too little to afford college stated:

> "If I wanted to go to college I could have, but in order to do anything you either gotta have a lot of money or none at all. It's hard to be anywhere in the middle. And it's surprising how low the middle goes these days."

CHILDREN'S DECISION MAKING POWER. Even though there was always some support for the successful kids, the drop-outs often had parents who tried to keep them in school. One of the most interesting discoveries, from the point of view of useful policy, was that the children themselves had the final decision of whether to stay in school or drop out. At the age of 15 to 16, many of the children were making as much money (and getting socially rewarded) as adults working in the fields. If it became a choice of being treated as an adult and getting praise in one environment, and being criticized (falling behind, getting bad grades, being sent home, etc.) in another, it is not too difficult to see why at least some of the children opt out.

One ethnographer pointed out that it might be very cost effective in the long run to pay the kids to go to school, when they reach that age. Then, they will have their parents' support and retain the chance of getting out of the migrant lifestyle.

This factor, combined with that of a significant "other" contains some interesting implications for drop-out programs aimed at migrant children. It appears that the situation is not hopeless and could be remedied, at least to some extent, by selling education to the children themselves and by helping them establish the support role from someone in their family. Coupled with some self-esteem support and with economic support to keep the adolescents in school, there is at least sufficient policy implications for several pilot or demonstration studies.

CHILDREN'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION. For most sectors of our society, children are a drain, not a financial resource. For migrants, they may make the difference between survival and a successful season. This means that for some migrant families the children will either be in the field or will have to contribute in some other material way to the support of the family. Any summer (or even regular term) education program that does not take this into account will have some significant failures to go along with its successes.

Program Issues and Findings

One clear finding was that, contrary to the tendency at the local level to cut outreach first, the need for outreach in a migrant education program is confirmed by the data. Migrants live in isolation, even in high population density areas. The hours they work, their frequent lack of knowledge of the local community, the absence of local contacts in their networks (other than migrant personnel), and their lack of transportation all combine to put them at high risk for missing out on needed services. A normal, well meaning, open door policy will not meet migrant education needs because only a very few will know the building exists, let alone find the door truly open. Migrant children need special migrant education programs to help them overcome the problems caused by moving through the migrant streams with their parents. These problems are well documented in the sections on migrant lifestyles.

Another finding is that there are several successful models that can be used to create good migrant education programs. They need to be sculpted to meet local conditions and needs, but the overall parameters of the programs are well established. Programs should either succeed or fail based on hiring the right people and managing them well. No failures should occur due to a lack of knowledge of migrant needs or the social, cultural, or environmental factors that affect their lives.

Temporary program failures should be due to personnel problems, not to a lack of knowledge of what works well and what does not. And there should be no permanent program failures. The ethnographers identified the characteristics of a good recruiter, and of a good administrator. They demonstrated the barriers to participation in PACs and other parent involvement programs, and success stories for programs as well. It is clear from the data that programs which meet the recognized needs of the migrants have high visibility and strong migrant community support.

The programs currently receiving high praise from migrants include day care programs, pre-K programs, evening programs, high school programs, and summer programs, to name the most prominent. Programs that are poorly presented or lack features that meet the migrants' perceived needs are virtually invisible.

The ethnographies documented that some of the important migrant education needs are not being met in all States. There is uneven coverage within States and there are significant differences between States in terms of the availability of such basic needs as day care or high school programs.

In addition to uneven coverage, there is an obvious need to allow migrant education programs the leeway to innovate and to solve unanticipated problems. This means finding ways of eliminating the fear of audit and other bureaucratic impediments to the program. The programs need clear guidelines of who is eligible, and equally clear guidelines of how new qualifying occupations can be proven. The programs need to be able to rely on the best judgement of the U.S. Department of Education, rather than having every program officer give repeated warnings that his or her opinion is not binding or meaningful. The latter problem is a major contributor to poor administration and confusion of purpose for the migrant education programs nationwide.

There is a need for higher visibility and clearer identity for at least some parts of the migrant education program. Many times the ethnographers found that the children were receiving and benefiting from migrant education services, but the parents, and sometimes the children, did not know that they were the result of a special program. This means that the program did not receive the benefit of the migrants' positive regard for the help given to their children, and equally problematic, the program did not receive feedback on how it could be improved.

Introduction

In response to a Federal request for proposals, the Pennsylvania State Department of Education, Migrant Education Division, contracted with the U. S. Office of Migrant Education to conduct a project to improve the quality and consistency of migrant education program identification and recruitment (I&R) processes nationwide. Using state-of-the-art, on-site, focused ethnographic methodology, the project created a realistic model for the training and supervision of migrant education recruiters. The project also uncovered significant information on the beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of migrant farmworkers, in relation to the educational services that are available to them.

The ethnographic data collection supporting the I&R contract's objectives was divided into two linked, but separate parts:

PROGRAMMATIC ETHNOGRAPHY. The first was an ethnography of the recruitment process. Nine States agreed to cooperate in the first phase. These States were representative of migrant education programs in the United States, and their migrant populations represent about 75 percent of all migrant farmworkers.

This phase was called the programmatic ethnography. Its purpose was to identify the major models being used by education programs to train and supervise migrant identification and referral staff. The programmatic ethnography was designed to identify exemplary processes utilized by I&R per-

sonnel in their recruitment efforts, so these processes could be disseminated nationwide.

And it was designed to identify barriers to providing educational opportunities to migrant children, in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of migrant education programs. This part of the analysis included investigation of both the institutional supports and barriers to high quality recruitment efforts, and the individual characteristics and processes that support or interfere with recruiters' contacts with their migrant clients.

The ethnographers did direct observations of recruitment in progress, as well as interviewing on both the recruitment process and the administrative issues surrounding recruitment. The data were then used to create the recruiters' and the administrators' training materials developed by the project.

The findings from the first part of the ethnography were summarized in several meetings. Descriptions of those findings were made available to the project staff and others. These data are summarized in the section of this report, titled, PROGRAMMATIC ETHNOGRAPHY. The data from the programmatic ethnography were also used to develop much of the direction for the field ethnographies conducted with the migrant farmworkers at their homes and work sites.

FOCUSED ETHNOGRAPHY The second part of the ethnographic research on migrant education issues was direct observation, interviews, and analysis of the behavior of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in migrant camps, home base housing, and migrant work places in each of the three major migrant streams. The purpose of this research was to provide a focused ethnographic account that would identify the key variables that either supported or acted as barriers to the efforts of the migrant education program, nationwide.

One of the key reasons for doing an ethnography of the farmworkers was to discover why migrants were being missed by migrant recruiters. One of the questions was, "Did they want to be missed, or was some environmental barrier creating the problem?"

This tied into the second essential piece of the migrant I&R puzzle. We felt we needed to know the migrants' views of education. Not knowing the migrants' beliefs and behaviors surrounding their relationship with available educational op-

portunities might guarantee the partial failure of any program directed at meeting their needs. It would be like developing any other product, no matter how useful or desirable, without conducting the necessary market research to find out how to present this product to potential customers.

The I&R project, for the first time, conducted this necessary form of research. The results of the field-based ethnographies of migrant farmworkers are presented in detail in this report.

Methodology

Ethnography is a scientific method of recording from life. It involves recording direct observations of people's behavior and interviewing key informants (individuals recognized for their knowledge about a particular subject). In addition, it involves participating in community events and learning how everyone behaves properly or how one does an important task (from moving cross country to the proper way to chop cotton). It includes asking in-depth questions of large numbers of informants over a significant length of time, so you can be confident that you are getting true answers rather than answers that the person thinks you should hear.

The three classic ethnographic methods (participant observation, life histories, and semi-structured interviewing) were all used during the ethnographic field work conducted for the I&R project. The participant observation phase of the ethnographies included such diverse activities as living in migrant households, working in the fields along with the migrants, and moving from a work location in a home-base state to a camp in an upstream state.

During and after each of these activities, copious data were recorded on the important elements of normal activities in the migrants' lives. For the I&R project, more than 1000 hours of observations of people's lives were recorded. This form of participant observation provides the environmental frame work for understanding the relationships between migrant farmworkers and the institutions they encounter in the various places they live and work.

The semi-structured interview phase was interwoven with the participant observation. Formal, prearranged interviews

with both adult family members and with migrant children were tape recorded and transcribed. Opportunistic interviews that were not pre-arranged but focused on one of the topics under study were also recorded.

Semi-structured interviews are ones in which a specific set of open-ended questions are asked, but where the interviewer takes advantage of volunteered information and asks additional questions that are generated by the interview context itself. The semi-structured interviews collected for the project amount to hundreds of hours of sitting and directing important questions at migrants in their homes, while they traveled from place to place, and at work.

The strength of this type of interview is that it not only gets answers for the questions that the scientist feels (*a priori*) are important, it also allows for serendipitous discovery of the issues that the informants believe are important. Since the whole purpose of the research was to discover what migrants think and do, semi-structured interviewing avoided the problem in social science survey research of getting accurate answers to the wrong set of questions, while still getting the answers to questions that the researchers and migrant I&R experts felt were important.

The ethnographers also collected life histories. Life histories are descriptions, in the informants own words, of the everyday processes and the major events in the lives of "typical" persons in a community. Informants are chosen as typical because they represent the diversity of lives in a community. Some are leaders, others are persons who have lived through particularly interesting events, while some are individuals who can articulate the ordinary, the mundane events that happen to most people, most of the time. The numerous migrant life history accounts collected by the I&R project provide a critical framework for understanding the lifestyles and the life events that are important to migrant farmworkers.

To give some idea of the richness of the information collected during the research process, the total ethnographic data set was the result of more than 3,000 hours of interviews, observations, life history records, and participant observation. The ethnographers lived with migrant families for weeks at a time, recording most of what they saw and heard. They set up interviews, worked in the fields, traveled, and observed migrant children in various programs, in the camps and at

home. The ethnographers' "field notes", (scientific record from the I&R project) are stored on 47 5¼-inch floppy computer disks with a total memory space of approximately 16,900 kilobytes (or almost 17 megabytes) of textual data. This is the equivalent of about 1,400 single spaced type written pages of field data. The data set was summarized to create this report.

The ethnographers went to their first field sites with a set of questions and areas for recorded observations that had been created by members of the project advisory board, project staff and the ethnography group. These included the following:

Programmatic Ethnography Observational Data Set

1. Examples of the daily routines of recruiters, recruitment coordinators, and any other individuals who are found to be critical to the I&R process.

2. Examples of weekly and annual cycles for the above individuals.

3. Job descriptions of recruiters, coordinators, etc. This is to include the formal job descriptions, plus the observational descriptions of what people actually do.

4. Key informant interviews on their philosophy of appropriate administration of recruiters, both from the administrator's and the recruiter's points of view.

5. A domain analysis of major migrant recruitment issues.

6. Formal and informal organizational models of each of the States, with comparative data from other States.

7. Observations of paper work skills of recruiters, as well as their interpersonal skills.

8. Observations on the timing of programs. Do they fit the migrant seasons, etc?

Primary Questions for the Programmatic Ethnography

1. What are the characteristics of an "ideal recruiter"? This question was asked at all levels of the State organizations, from the State Director to the recruiters, and some interesting differences of opinion emerged that were built into the recommendations in the *Recruiter's Guide* and in the *Administrator's Guide*.

2. What are the characteristics of the worst possible recruiter? This was also targeted for all levels.

3. How did you get involved in migrant education? (all organizational levels).

4. Where and how can migrants be found? What are the easy-to-identify locations and what are the most difficul- to-identify locations (and types of migrants)?

5. Who helps you find the migrants? Does anyone try to keep you from finding migrants?

6. What is the effect of the migrant education program on the migrant child?

7. What are your ideals for the total recruitment process? (all levels).

8. What tasks/jobs assigned in addition to the recruitment duties go well with being a recruiter?

9. What tasks, duties, assignments interfere with the job of being a migrant recruiter?

10. What are the typical migrant work patterns in your area and do they help or interfere with recruiting children into the program?

11. What are the migrant parents' attitudes towards the migrant education program (all levels)?

12. How important are the recruiters to the migrant education system (all levels)?

13. How much feedback do recruiters get that the migrants feel hassled by having to give the same information over and over to people from different programs?

14. What are the things that the migrant recruiters like about their jobs, and what do they dislike?

15. Where are the recruiters housed, institutionally; where are their offices located? What is the ideal location for the recruiter's office, and what is the worst possible location?

16. What are the tools a recruiter needs (eg. transportation, phone, etc.)?

17. What areas of eligibility cause the most problems for the recruiters?

18. What are the special "gimmicks and goodies" that recruiters use to find migrants and to encourage their par-

ticipation in the program? These can be disseminated to other areas to improve recruitment efforts.

19. How much do the recruiters act as an information and referral center for the migrant families?

20. Do you use different strategies to identify migrants for summer programs than for the regular school year program? What are the similarities and differences in the recruitment processes for the two types of programs?

These questions led to further questions, or to refinement of the existing questions, all of which resulted in the material provided for the development of the training manuals and other training materials developed through the project. These issues are summarized below, and in more depth in Dr. Michael Reed's report, "The State of the Art: What We Have Learned From the Programmatic Ethnographies" (Reed 1987). [This report can be found on page 51 in this volume.]

The results of the programmatic ethnographies were then used to generate the basic framework for the observations, semi-structured question sets, and the life history data collected during the field based ethnographies with the migrant families. The initial questions developed by the various groups were as follows:

Focused Ethnography Observational Data Set

Includes:

1. Data on the daily routine of migrant and seasonal farmworkers, especially the "typical" activities engaged in by adults and children.

2. Observations of recruiters for various programs (education and others) in the migrant camps and in migrant homes in home base states.

3. Observations of migrants' interactions with various social service agencies, with the schools, etc.

4. Participant observation of the actual move from a home base location to one upstream. Who does what, when do they do it, and what kinds of needs do the migrants have, and how do they accommodate those needs when they arrive?

5. Detailed descriptions of the roles children play both up stream and in a home base setting; especially their economic roles. When do the children start working in the field, how

often are they used as baby sitters while the parents work, and what are the parents' expectations about their economic contribution to the family?

5. Participant observation of migrant field labor.

6. Observations of children's study habits, attitudes towards school, etc.

Primary Questions Directing the Focused Ethnography Interviews

1. What qualities do parents like to see in a recruiter?

2. What are the migrants' attitudes towards the various forms they have to sign?

3. Why don't the migrants ask more questions of the recruiters?

4. What needs to be done to get more migrants to participate in the parent advisory groups.

5. What would the migrants like in the way of services?

6. Why do the migrants move to the places they move to? What are the variables that surround their decision to move?

7. What part does economics play in the migrant lifestyle?

8. What kinds of problems do migrants encounter in moving, what are the advantages, and the disadvantages to the adults and to the children?

9. What are the migrants attitudes toward education? Do they support it or do they create barriers that keep their children from getting an education.

10. What are the migrant children's attitudes toward education?

11. Who makes the educational decisions in the migrant family?

12. What does the migrant education program mean to the migrants themselves (adults and children)?

13. What are the parents attitudes towards the schools (as opposed to education as an ideal)?

14. What are the children's attitudes towards the schools?

15. What do the children see as advantages and disadvantages of moving?

16. How do the parents find out about the migrant education program?

17. How aware of the migrant education program are migrants in general?

18. What do the migrants feel would be the impact of the elimination of the migrant education program?

19. Why, from the migrants' perspective, are we missing them in our recruitment efforts

20. Do the parents know why information is being requested of them by the migrant recruiters?

21. What would it take to get the migrants to carry information with them so they would not have to be asked the same questions over and over again?

22. What is the predictability of the moves that migrants make? When do the know they are going to move, and when do they know where they are going to move?

23. Do migrants get turned off by the word "migrant"? If so, who and when?

24. Does the term "home base" have meaning to the migrants? What kind of permanent contact points do the most mobile migrants maintain?

25. Collect interviews on several migrant "success stories". Find out how success is defined by migrants and get details on where it leads. Find contrasting "horror" stories.

Once the ethnographers were in the field for some time, they not only relied on these two preliminary sets of questions and foci for observations, they found new areas which were shared across the group to improve the ethnographies in each of the states.

Background Information on the Ethnographies

Three ethnographers (Mary Felegy, Marcela Gutiérrez-Mayka, and Anita Wood), under the direction of the head ethnographer (Robert T. Trotter, II) traveled to nine States with exemplary migrant education programs, in order to complete the data collection for the programmatic part of the ethnography. The States included Arizona, California, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, New York, and Texas.

In each State the ethnographers interviewed the State Directors, administrative personnel responsible for I&R efforts in

the State, and migrant I&R liaison personnel. In addition, the ethnographers traveled with the recruiters and observed their daily activities, including their interactions with the State office, the local school districts, and with the migrant and seasonal farmworkers in their areas. This phase of the project lasted for approximately three months and produced essential data for the development of the products associated with the project.

Following the completion of the programmatic ethnographies, we turned our efforts to the focused field research on migrant and seasonal farmworkers and their families. Since these had to be in-depth studies that were dependent on a high level of trust between the ethnographers and their informants, more time was spent in each State selected for this phase, and the total number of States was reduced to a more manageable, but representative group. The primary States where the focused field studies were conducted were Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, and New York. South Carolina was also visited by Marcela Gutiérrez-Mayka, as the result of participating in a migrant family's move from Florida to a camp in South Carolina. This intense participation in people's lives helped us scientifically substantiate many of the key characteristics (unique to migrants) that need to form a part of, not only the recruitment, but also the provision of educational services to migrant and seasonal farmworkers' children.

The first field sites were home base locations for migrants; to allow us to look at the issues surrounding education when the migrants were in the locations they considered to be their homes. Marcela Gutiérrez-Mayka worked in an agricultural county in Florida, Mary Felegy in a border town in Texas, and Anita Wood in a home base area in Arizona. After spending from 2 to 3 months in each home base site, the ethnographers then shifted to upstream states. In a couple of instances they were able to actually make the move from home base to upstream with the migrants they had been interviewing at home. The up stream states ethnographies were conducted by Anita Wood in California (which is also the major West Coast migrant stream home base State), Marcela Gutiérrez-Mayka in South Carolina and New York, and Mary Felegy in Kansas, with a short stay in Illinois.

All of the information collected by the ethnographers falls under the guidelines of the Privacy and Confidentiality Act of

1964, later privacy and confidentiality guidelines, as well as the code of ethics of the American Anthropological Association (American Anthropological Association 1983). Therefore, we will be following the standard procedure in this report of using pseudonyms for both places within the various states and for the individuals interviewed.

Where the information we had available would identify a particular person or place, the information was not used as an example in the paper, to avoid compromising our informants. Since the nature of ethnography is to identify regular, repetitive information that best describes the way that most people think, believe, and behave, this procedure did not jeopardize the validity of the information presented here; there were multiple examples of all of the important findings from the study.

While a particular comment by an identifiable informant might have been more strongly worded, we were always able to find a substitute quote from an non-identifiable informant that worked as well, or nearly as well. Thus, all of the responses quoted in the paper can be taken as typical of the responses of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the various migrant streams.

Background Information on the Migrant Streams

There are three major migrant streams within the United States, each with small tributaries running from them into the agricultural areas of the states served by those streams. While they have many similarities, in terms of both occupations and hazards, they also differ in the ethnic, cultural, and racial composition of the workers. They differ somewhat in the way that the labor is organized around crew chiefs, *mayordomos*, *troqueros*, and other organizers. And they differ in terms of the presence or absence of union organization, the availability of services, and the organization of migrant education, health, and other programs.

EAST. The East Coast migrant stream has two major home base areas, one in Florida and one in Puerto Rico. As in the other streams, the so-called "upstream" states also contribute migrants to the stream, either as seasonal workers, or as migrants to surrounding states in the stream. Migrants in the stream typically start the season in Florida and travel up the East Coast in stages, depending on the types of crops they are

working. Or they start in Puerto Rico and move into Pennsylvania, New York, and surrounding states.

The predominant domestic workers in the East Coast stream are Southern Blacks, Puerto Ricans, some Appalachian Whites, and, more recently, increasing numbers of Mexican Americans from Texas. The most common foreign workers are Haitians, with a sprinkling of people from several countries in Central America and from Mexico. In parts of the stream, there are also quite a few Native Americans from Canada.

Crews are organized by crew chiefs who contract out the labor to growers, and the East Coast stream has one of the high proportions of single male camps of the three steams. The single male camps, as opposed to family camps, tend to have more problems with alcohol related problems, prostitution, and police intervention. However, there are still a significant proportion of family camps, with large numbers of children who need migrant education services.

CENTRAL. Texas is the primary home-base state for the Midwest migrant stream. Thousands of migrants pour out of South Texas each year in five large sub-streams that look, when placed on a map, like fingers on your left hand when viewed from the back. The sub-stream represented by your thumb hooks from Texas, through the deep South, into Florida, and from there up the East Coast. The three middle fingers represent the movement of migrants into the Eastern Midwest (Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, etc.), the Midwest (Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, etc.), and through the western part of Texas into Colorado, Utah, and eventually up to Washington and Idaho. And the little finger represents a substantial stream going from South Texas, through El Paso, into Arizona, then up California, eventually ending up in Washington.

Mexican Americans make up the bulk (an estimated 95 percent) of the domestic workers in the Midwest stream. They are joined by small groups of Southern Blacks, and some Anglos. Recently they have also been joined by significant numbers of Southeast Asian refugees, in some parts of the agricultural industry. The most common foreign workers are people from Mexico, with some Central Americans, as well. The camps are predominantly small, family-based camps scattered on various farms. The people organizing the labor are often called *"troqueros"*, referring to the fact that they own

trucks that are used to haul not only workers, but also the produce that the workers are picking.

WEST. The West Coast migrant stream begins in Arizona and Southern California and moves up the coast to wind up in Washington, Idaho, and the surrounding states. Again, the domestic workers are Mexican Americans from California, with some Anglo workers, some Pacific Islanders, and South East Asian refugees. Foreign workers include people from Mexico, some East Indians, and some workers from Central America. A considerable amount of union organization has occurred, but only in selected crops. The independent contractors are called *"mayordomos"*, for the most part.

One common myth about migrant and seasonal farmworkers needs to be exploded. Many people in the U.S. assume that migrants are predominantly illegal aliens. Both assumptions (illegal and foreign) are wrong; most are U.S. citizens, although culturally different from the locals. And to complete the picture, a large percentage of the foreign workers (Haitians in the East and Mexicans in the West) are greencarders and are here legally. Nationally, we would estimate that no more than 15 percent of the migrant farmworkers are foreign nationals. So the vast majority of the services to migrants are going to citizens, or to foreign workers who, by law, have a right to those services.

Programmatic Ethnography

The programmatic ethnography was designed to identify ideal recruitment models, and profiles of ideal recruiter attributes and skills for migrant education programs. In the process, the ethnographies also scientifically reconfirmed the necessity of having outreach in migrant programs and documented some of the characteristics of the program that make it both desirable and unique amongst educational programs in the United States.

Administrative Models for Identification and Recruitment

The data clearly indicate that no one administrative model is appropriate for all migrant I&R programs. Rather, there are

several models; with ones that are best suited to the size of the state, the density and distribution of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the state, and the position of the state in the overall migrant stream cycle (home-base, or upstream state, or some combination of the two).

The primary models include programs that are 1) exclusively operated/administered by the State Educational Agency, usually out of a single location; 2) regionally operated/administered programs, where the program goals are determined by the State or a regionalized State program, but where there is also some local control of the personnel; and 3) locally administered recruitment programs, where both goals and operations are controlled by the local school district.

Any of these three models will work; and any will fail miserably, depending on the quality of the personnel hired, and the quality of the administrative assistance that the recruiters receive. The danger inherent in a state-dominated program is the likelihood that the local school districts feel left out of the program and will consequently make the recruiter's jobs difficult, if not impossible. The problem with local program control is that all too often the migrant funds are seen as a source to supplement local needs, and the recruiter's time is overwhelmed by local duties that interfere with the job of making I&R contacts. The regional programs can suffer from both faults, simultaneously.

The reverse is also true, and was documented by the programmatic ethnographies. Where there is sufficient liaison and direction from the State agency to make certain that the program is coordinated and well articulated state-wide, while still being sensitive to local issues, and where the personnel are considered a part of the local system, without being abused by that system, all three models work very well. The State-administered programs tend to be used by smaller states, or states where migrants are concentrated in only a few locations. The regional programs are common in the geographically large states (especially the large home-base states), and in moderate-sized states that are high migrant impact states, and the locally administered programs predominate in the moderately sized states that have moderate migrant impact.

Portrait of an Ideal Recruiter

The ethnographers found a large number of very successful recruiters. When their portraits were combined, we found that they came from a wide variety of backgrounds, but tended to have some critical things in common.

The most outstanding feature of the successful recruiters was their desire to help people. They commonly worked beyond the hours they were paid for, and did things beyond the boundaries and descriptions of their programmatic positions. They viewed the migrants as a part of the community, and as worthy of special attention. They also viewed the migrant education program as an important community resource and acted as an advocate for the program to both the migrants and to the local education community.

Their duties tended to be a combination that allowed them to make positive contacts (liaison) between the migrants and the school system. They articulated the program successfully with the migrants, normally by reducing the migrants' natural feelings of isolation and powerlessness, while protecting the integrity of the program's goals and directly supporting its accomplishments.

The common characteristics of good recruiters, identified by direct observation and ethnographic interview, include the following:

1. They have a working knowledge of the educational system and of the educational materials used by the local project and are able to clearly explain the services offered by the migrant education program.

2. They are honest. They are viewed by the community and the school as someone with integrity, who will not use their position with the migrants for personal gain.

3. They display the personality characteristics of being mature, responsible, tolerant, patient, and perserverent.

4. They are thorough, systematic, and unbiased (in either direction) when screening information for eligibility.

5. They have a positive, can-do attitude. They are effective problem solvers.

6. They are willing to take emotional risks and will open up to people in order to gain their trust and confidence.

7. They are willing to make a personal commitment, and will help people with needs that do not strictly fall within their job description. They are willing to view any problem the family has as a potential barrier to the goals of the program. At the same time they know how to balance the "extras" so they do not interfere with the basic requirements of the recruitment job.

8. They communicate well and appropriately for a particular cultural group, and for individual families. They take the time to get to know people on an individual basis.

9. They are able (and willing) to provide the migrants with knowledge about and access to other agencies in the community.

10. They are able to work independently.

11. They do not let fear overcome them when entering potentially difficult situations, but they do not put themselves into foolishly dangerous situations either.

12. They are committed to the program, know its history and goals, and are willing to explain it or defend it in an articulate manner.

13. They can find innovative ways of describing the program to parents, and can be clear on eligibility issues. They can say "no" when it is appropriate, without creating problems for the school district.

14. They are familiar with the program guidelines, and, along with their skills as communicators and liaisons, can do the paper work associated with the job accurately and on time.

One of the ethnographers, after reviewing all of the statements that recruiters made about themselves and others, summarized the self portrait created from the data. The recruiters said a good recruiter gets along well with people; works his way into the confidence of the schools, is sympathetic, but lets people know he means business; is willing to travel long distances night after night and is prepared to leave the house at least three nights a week; is familiar with employment activities in the area; gathers accurate information on referrals; follows leads as soon as possible; is persistent; touches base with all people and businesses involved in farming; helps coordinate services for families; reports abuses; is aware of community resources; has self confidence; and is a good observer.

The general rule of thumb is, if you can find someone with these qualities, he or she will make a good recruiter. Of course, someone with these qualities will make an outstanding employee in almost any situation, which is why so many of the migrant education programs work as well as they do.

The recruiters form the most important linkage between the migrants and the programs. Without them, the program cannot reach the people who most need the services, because those are the same people who are the least likely to know about them, the least likely to have transportation to the schools, and the most unlikely to have the time to make the contacts necessary to find out what their children need.

As an example of a recruiter maintaining a delicate balance between the needs of the children and the difference between the spirit of the migrant program and its bureaucratic guidelines (i.e. having the qualities noted above), the following story was captured by one of the ethnographers during an interview with a particularly dedicated recruiter:

> "One morning, just after picking up three children for school, the driver looked back at the house and saw a two small faces in the window. One was a dog, the other a little girl of two or three. The child was sobbing and waving to her brothers.
>
> "When the driver asked if the child was sick, the other children replied no, she had to stay home with the dog and was lonely. As they were riding along, the children said that the family could not afford for the mother not to work, and the State had no day care program. The youngest children allowed in the program were five, and their sister was only three. So their sister stayed home with the dog.
>
> "The driver reported this to the recruiter when she got to school. The recruiter immediately visited the house and found the child. Each morning the older children put out a dish of water that was used by both the child and the dog, her only companion while the other kids were in school and the parents worked in the fields.
>
> "The recruiter brought the little girl back to the school and convinced the administration to allow her to stay in the classroom with her brothers. Having the child in school certainly violated the age requirements for the program, but the child was happy and so was everyone else involved."

Sometimes, especially in migrant education programs, you have to do special things to keep a greater evil from happening.

Portrait of an Ideal Migrant I&R Administrator

Both the recruiters and the other migrant personnel recognize that the recruiters need training, feed back, support, and all of the other forms of administrative guidance that make a state-wide program function effectively. Therefore, the ethnographers gathered data on the types of administrative support that were most effective in supporting high quality I&R efforts.

The best I&R administrators, either locally, regionally, or at the State level, have the following characteristics, from the perspective of the recruiters:

1. They monitor and support the recruiters, without having such a tight leash on them that they interfere with their I&R activities.

2. They are good at explaining the program to local school officials, teachers, and others to whom PR is necessary for the smooth functioning of the program.

3. They understand the need for recruiters to be a community liaison, beyond the narrow descriptions of just I&R certification.

4. They know how to answer eligibility questions.

5. They will treat the recruiters as professionals, and pay them as professionals.

6. They are sensitive to often-conflicting goals of the migrant education program versus regular classroom teachers. For example, obedience and self-discipline are commonly stressed by the regular teachers, while migrant children often need more emphasis on basic skills and self-esteem.

7. They are well organized and have a sense of the type of setup at the local level which will facilitate recruitment, not allowing "too many cooks to spoil the soup" and avoiding overlapping or a diffuse sense of responsibility or a duplication of efforts.

8. They travel to project sites, they are accessible, they are "one of us."

9. They recognize that high quality on-going training is a key for migrant and non-migrant personnel. Where this training does not occur, people tend to be against the migrant education program, because they know nothing about it.

Putting together a composite of the recruiters' views on administrators and those of the administrators themselves produced the ideal that administrators should:

- Comprehend all of the aspects of the recruiter's job, not just the paperwork
- Protect the recruiter from having to engage in activities that are counterproductive to the recruitment effort
- Provide technical assistance
- Provide constant feed back through routine direct communication
- Be someone who will actually, on occasion, do home visits with the recruiter to observe the process and to provide positive direction in the ways that the recruiter can improve his or her performance.

One of the critical personnel qualifications that surfaced in this part of the ethnography was the communication skills needed in a multicultural program. All of the informants noted that people (both recruiters and administrators) should be hired with these skills in mind. Our informants also stated that hiring people with these skills was not enough; in-service training was an important way to increase these skills as well.

Other Key Issues

The programmatic ethnography identified several issues that were repeated in many different locations. These issues directly affect the migrant education I&R programs, but they cannot be solved at the local or State level. They need to be addressed through national policy.

FEAR OF AUDITS. Many of the State migrant education programs are losing their creativity and are reducing their services well below the spirit of the migrant education legislation, due to the fear of audits. We documented a lack of consistency in interpretation of eligibility from one auditor and from one State to another. The result is to reduce the chance that children will be served if their parents are in an occupation that meets the definition of migrant or seasonal work, but is unique to a State or small region.

If the audit process continues the way it is going, the only children who will be served are those associated with the most traditional crops and who live at the most visible labor sites.

Children who should be eligible, but who are in less-visible sectors of the industry, will be ignored, even though these children often have the greatest need for the services provided by the migrant education program.

ELIGIBILITY QUESTIONS. Directly related to the fear of audits, is the *Catch 22* situations that the States find themselves in, *vis-à-vis* eligibility questions. There is no ultimate authority that can answer a State's eligibility question. The Federal office can provide guidelines, but those guidelines are not binding. So, if a State makes eligibility determinations based on the advice of its Federal program officer, an auditor can come in and require the State to return money allocated for those "eligible" individuals, because the auditor arbitrarily disagrees with the judgement of the Federal program officers.

This situation needs to be remedied by creating a uniform set of eligible occupations, or occupational conditions that both the States and the auditors can work from, without the fear of following good advice, and having that advice be worthless because of an accident of history.

"TEMPORARY" CLASSIFICATION. The ethnographers identified a virtually universal confusion over the definition of "temporary" occupations that make children eligible or ineligible for the program. This problem relates back to the two previous issues.

SYSTEM DISINCENTIVES. The ethnographers discovered that the system, as it is currently constituted, has a number of built in disincentives that assure that some migrant children will not be enrolled in the program.

One is due to the "culture" of education programs. When allocations shrink, educators protect their turf, and reduce expenditure in "non-essential" areas. Unfortunately, one of the areas considered "non-essential" in many local programs, is outreach. In traditional, territorially bounded programs, outreach is something that you can live without, even though it is useful. Yet, as will be shown clearly in the section on migrant lifestyles, without outreach, very few of the migrants will have access to the program, so the protection of the "educational" aspects of the program become worthless when there are no children to educate.

Second, the Federal capping of the program creates a disincentive to discovering new migrant children when the pro-

gram will not serve some of the children already enrolled. This is especially true in migrant home-base states. The problem with this disincentive is that the children most in need of the services (the ones that are the most isolated and the ones that move the most frequently) are the ones most likely to be ignored by *laissez-faire* recruitment efforts.

All of these findings are discussed in greater detail in the interim report on the I&R project, titled "The State of the Art: What We have Learned from the Programmatic Ethnographies" (Reed 1987). [This report can be found on page 51 in this volume.]

Focused Ethnography

After providing the programmatic data for the preliminary development of the project training materials, the ethnographers began a focused ethnography of the beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes of migrants toward education, the schools, and towards migrant education programs.

Ethnography is a highly intimate process. Instead of knocking on doors and asking questions cold, the ethnographers became a part of the migrant communities. They spent weeks getting to know people, and months observing behavior, asking questions, and getting in-depth interviews about various subjects. Then, after learning what migrants did when they were at home, the ethnographers traveled upstream and lived in actual working conditions in migrant camps, as they worked on the season. With the amount of time they spent, the number of questions they asked, and the number of recorded observations they made, the ethnographers became as knowledgeable about migrant farm labor lifestyles as anyone but the migrants themselves.

The observations and interviews covered a wide variety of topics, as can be seen from the questions listed above. After studying the answers and piecing together the observations from all of the migrant streams, three areas emerge that are critical to understanding the process of providing educational services to migrant and seasonal farmworkers. These are the migrants' life conditions, both at home and upstream; the migrants' attitudes towards educational processes and the

benefits of education for migrants; and the structure of the migrant education program itself.

Migrant Lifestyles

The primary reason that migrants move from one area or one state to another is to gain an economic advantage. The home-base areas for migrants are economically depressed and agriculturally dominated areas.

In a few cases, the home-base areas are economically depressed urban areas, where people from rural backgrounds have moved in to seek employment and not found it, or only found part time labor. They have an "urban" home base but most of the year they work as seasonal and migratory labor.

To be a migrant, you can live in the barrios and ghettos of Chicago, Miami, New York, Houston, and Los Angeles and do either seasonal day labor, or move to the nearby agricultural areas as a migrant. Or you can live in the rural counties of Florida, Texas, California, or many other states, and follow the same lifestyle.

Some migrants also live in urban areas when they are working upstream. This is especially true in those areas where the migrant camps have been closed in nearby rural areas.

The "push" for entering migrant labor is visible in the following report of a migrant who is one of a number of Algonquin Indians from Canada, doing migrant labor in upstate New York:

> "I asked Marcel what they did when they were in Canada. He told me he worked in construction, but most of the time he was unemployed. Rose did not work at all. Marcel said a lot of the people from the reservation worked for 'X' Farms, and since he was unemployed at the time he decided to give it a try."

Regardless of the location of the home base, the reason people migrate is to make more money than they would at home. Work is primary and anything that interferes with work is either avoided, delayed as long as possible, or dealt with in the most cursory fashion possible. This is true of health care, where you only seek help when you absolutely have to have it, just as it is true of going to meetings with school personnel to learn about your child's educational progress. Everything is focused around work first and other issues second, as can be seen in the following quote from a migrant worker in Florida:

> "...She said work was extremely slow and everybody was having a hard time. She told me her sister and her family had come from Texas because there was no work there. They came empty handed, her sister didn't even have time to pack clothes for the children. She said many families have to leave like that. They didn't even have money to pay for the trip so they had to borrow $200 to come to Florida. The first weeks after they got here they had to work to pay that money back."

The reasons for the primacy of work are both simple and logical. Since the migrants come from areas where there is little or no work, and the work that is available only provides for subsistence at best, they have to make enough money to survive while they are working on the season, and they also have to make enough to survive when there is no work available. If they are lucky, they occasionally make enough to pay their debts, or even more rarely, get a little ahead.

The very nature of agriculture is volatile; there is very little security in migrant employment from month to month and from season to season. The migrants recognize this volatility and it formed a part of their comments to the ethnographers.

Hispanic migrant worker:

> "Mr. Arroyo said the migrant people are very uncertain when it comes to income: 'The first couple months they can make money, but that's all. And if it rains and the crop is bad....'"

Many migrants, including the children, recognize the effects that moves can have on their education. The following quote is from a student in a high school level (Saturday) migrant education program. It indicates some of the price paid by the students when they migrate:

> "Like my cousin wasn't coming (to the Saturday program where the student was being interviewed), but he's coming now because he got behind. My cousin, he is the only one that is going to finish high school. The other two cousins, are about 20 years. One quitted because of going to Florida and all that coming from here and over there he missed a lot of years of school, just going down.
>
> "When he comes to a school, establishes in a school, they send him back in years. So he quitted because he was going back and not forward! Every year he loses another year. Like he gets out of school earlier 3 months, and he gets over there in school, maybe he didn't go and he missed it all, so he was out of school. I don't know, he's getting the GED. It's not the same though, the same as a diploma. It's not the same because..."
>
> Another student chimes in: "Some jobs won't even require a GED. If you have it, it's like having nothing."

HOME BASE LIFE STYLES. The classic migrants we studied have a clear-cut home-base area. This is the place they call home, even if they are at that location for three months or less. It is the place where they have permanent friends and family. It is also where they have roots. More than half of all migrants own their own homes or have land that they plan to build homes on. They are not simply shifting transients.

MIGRANT FARMWORKERS WITHOUT HOME BASES. The I&R project documented that in addition to classic migrants, there appear to be a set of migrants who do not have home-base locations in the normal sense. These people actually take their "home" (which is usually a car or motor cycle and a few possessions) along with them.

One example of these migrants are the so-called "biker" migrants in Idaho, where motorcycle groups move in for the fall harvest season, earn money to live, buy possessions, and improve the looks of their bikes, and then move on to other areas and other jobs. Another example are the dairy migrants in many states who can move three or four times a year within a 50-mile radius, and never have a permanent home. Like the other migrants, these groups include family units with children who are in desperate need of a good education.

These nomadic laborers create an unexpected additional set of problems for appropriate education for their children, since there is no stable location where it is guaranteed that they will always return. Yet they are not totally without anchors. Most report having a friend, or more commonly a relative that they are in periodic contact with, and who can reach them, eventually. So there are some mechanisms (albeit difficult, time consuming, and not wholely reliable) through which they could be contacted.

However, other than identifying their existence and the fact that they present an unusual problem for the educational system, we have virtually no information on this group of migrants. We don't know their numbers or the patterns of work they follow. This is an area where further ethnographic exploration would be invaluable.

FOREIGN MIGRANTS. Some of the agricultural workers in the migrant streams are from foreign countries. While the predominant stereotype in the media and in the minds of most people in the United States is that these workers dominate the

migrant population, in truth they represent less than 15 percent of all migrants. The vast majority of migrant and seasonal farmworkers are United States citizens by birth. Nevertheless, the ethnographers did encounter foreign workers, some documented and some who had entered the country illegally. The following explains some of the reasons for both types of entry.

The "green card" workers who migrate annually from Mexico to California (often with a short stop for a few months in Texas) depend almost entirely on their work in the United States to pay for the trip back and forth, and to support the entire family for the six months that they were not working in Mexico.

In the two areas where Anita Wood conducted research in California, the work season for Mexican nationals began sometime in the spring and lasted into the fall. Although some arrived early, most arrived the 1st of May and stayed until the 31st of October, when the camps closed.

Families indicated that they could not find work in Mexico. Some worked a little in construction and some worked a little in small farms and in the fields, but the majority of the time they did not work because of the current economic crisis in Mexico. The plight of many migrants is stated in the following quote, translated from Spanish:

> Q: "What do you do in Mexico?"
>
> A: "Nothing. My husband tries to get work but he hardly ever finds any."
>
> Q: "How do you live without money in Mexico?"
>
> A: "The little that we take back lasts us for awhile, but soon it is gone. A man loans us money like the bank loans money, for food, rent and the trip back here."
>
> Q: "Is this a friend?"
>
> A: "No, an acquaintance. He loaned us $500 this year and he charges 12 to 16% interest. This is less than the banks. We can choose to pay him back in three months or in six months. We usually pay him back in three months."

Later on, this same family decided that they would try to stay in California this winter and look for work. The father told Anita that it was too expensive moving back and forth.

Another migrant from Mexico stated,

> "We have to come here to work and maintain ourselves. If we stayed there we couldn't eat and clothe our children. Here we have jobs."

Many migrants from Mexico expressed a desire to remain in California during the winter months after the closure of the camp, but the expense of housing and lack of work prohibits them from doing so. They can only afford to live on the money that they earn if they return to Mexico during the winter months.

One Mexican migrant described why they move:

> "If we stayed here all year we would have to pay $300 a month for rent. There is no work here during the winter. If we stayed in Mexico we would not have money because there is no work in Mexico."

Some migrants from Mexico indicated they were skilled in non-agricultural jobs, but because of the economic crisis and the low pay that they would receive in Mexico they became regular migrants. In some cases they had migrated for the first time this year.

On the other hand, one woman of 32 had been migrating for 12 years. She had attended secretarial school for three years in Mexico. She said that the first year she didn't want to come but everything was arranged for her, her papers from Mexico, so she came with her family. Anita asked her if it wouldn't be easier to be a secretary and she agreed that it would but she was not able to be a secretary in the United States without English skills. She told Anita that she had a friend who was working as a secretary right now in Mexico and she only earned $30 a month.

While the quotes in this section focus primarily on foreign migrants from Mexico, in other sections of the report there are quotes from other foreign migrants from Canada, Haiti, Central America, and parts of Southeast Asia. Not all of these farmworkers are coming to the United States for simple economic advantage. Some are coming to escape war. Others, often skilled workers, are becoming migrants because of problems with language skills.

Moving, Migrating, Getting from Here to There

Migrant lifestyles revolve around working, moving on to find other work, then returning home to work once again. This section describes some of the typical migration patterns we documented, as well as the processes involved in deciding to move, making the move, and the conditions the migrants encounter when they settle into a new location.

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION. There is a variety of migration patterns in each of the migrant streams. The simplest is in-state migration from one agricultural area to another. All of the major home base areas have this internal migration pattern. In some cases the move may be as close as to the next county, while in Texas and California an in-state migrant may move hundreds of miles away from home without leaving the state. The other pattern is migration to other states.

The following are descriptions of intrastate migration from interviews with dairy migrants from two different states. This is a common practice in this particular group. Dairy migrants often move within a 50-mile radius and do not recognize a particular location as a home base.

Dairy migrant in New York:

Q: "You've been working with the same dairy all the time?"

Mr D: "No, we went back and forth from the Lake (Ontario) to Medina, Kendall, Palm Trees."

Q: "Always in New York State?"

Mr. D: "Yeah."

Q: "Why did you have to move back and forth? Isn't there steady employment?"

Sister: "It was my father's idea."

Mr. D: "Got tired of one job and went to another, got tired of that, went back, back and forth like a yo-yo."

The other major pattern of migration involves movement from one state to another, and can be short (between two adjacent States) or long (from the bottom of the country to the top). The length of a move depends on the crops worked and the pattern of a particular migrant group. The longer the migrants follow the crops for a particular season, the more states they are likely to have to work, and the more moves they will have to make.

Marcela Gutiérrez-Mayka observed a pattern that originated in Florida and ended a relatively short distance away, in the Delmarva (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia) peninsula. Migrants following this pattern leave Florida by the middle of June and travel north to work in the Carolinas picking peaches and vegetables. By late August they continue up to Virginia to work in the apple crop and then return to Florida.

The following is an interview with a Mexican American crew leader taking workers to Virginia:

Q: "How long does it take to get where you are going?"

A: "If you go to Virginia its further away. If you just go to Carolina (from Florida), it only takes 14 hours and from there to Virginia it's 9 more hours."

Q: "Do you always make the same stops?"

A: "Yes, first in Carolina."

Q: "What do you do in South Carolina?"

A: "Peaches."

Q: "And how long do you stay there?"

A: "Until August 26. By the 26, 23, 24 depending on what's to pick, it's over."

Q: "And then you go to Virginia?"

A: "Yes, to Virginia."

Q: "Does everybody go on?"

A: "No, some people go back. There's people who go ahead to other jobs."

Q: "So not everybody goes on?"

A: "Well, the majority goes on, but some people want to go back, or they need to go back to find housing. The rest continues up North. They already know where they are going, they know that in 2 weeks there'll be work somewhere else."

From Marcela's research notes, she summarizes a similar work pattern of a Haitian couple she interviewed:

"Ms. Pierre and her boyfriend both work in the tomato fields. They work in the two tomato crops in the area (Florida, November and May) and in the summer they go to North Carolina where they pick sweet potatoes, cucumbers, and tobacco. From North Carolina they go to Virginia to pick tomatoes in July. When they are done in Virginia they return to Florida."

In the longer moves, things get complicated. Migrants who follow this pattern are likely to stay upstream for several months, arriving at the beginning of the growing season (May) and staying until the beginning of winter (November).

Crew leader in South Carolina:

"When the tomato was over in Florida my father picked up a contract for Maryland and from there we went to Delaware, and from there to New York to work in the cabbage. My father had contracts and he hired people to work in the potato and cabbage packing houses."

Anita reported similar patterns of migration between states. She stated:

"Some of the people that I interviewed from Texas only worked sporadically in Texas during the winter season. Some worked in construction and in the fields and were able to sustain themselves during the winter. Many own homes in the downstream states.

"A migrant from Texas responded when I asked her if they were able to save money when they came to California to work, 'We can't save money. We send back money in payments. We go back with $1000 or less, but we do pay off some of our debts. That is why we come and go. Over there there are more debts and no work.... We added to our house last year, so that was good.'"

Another pattern she observed were migrants who lived most of the year, generally from September 1 to April 30th, in southern Arizona. Work in Arizona generally begins about the 6th or 7th of September, when the lettuce starts, and lasts until the 22th of April with the final harvest of the cool weather crops. There is little work in the fields after that time. With a short period of rest, migrants were able to move to California either to follow the lettuce harvest or the tomato harvest. Over the past two to three years, the pattern of migration from southern Arizona has changed.

Due to increased parental awareness of the advantages of keeping their children in the same school all year, more and more children are remaining in school until its completion at the end of May. [Note: this trend was also observed in several other states and is one of the positive outcomes of the efforts of the migrant education programs.] Often the father will leave as soon as work is completed in Arizona, sometime in April, and move upstream to follow the lettuce crop. He would make two moves, finally settling in one of the areas in the "salad bowl", an area near the peninsula or in other nearby places in California. Typically, the father would return to Arizona for the family when school was out in June.

A migrant explained to Anita their annual work cycle in Arizona and California as follows:

"'The lettuce starts down there on the 6th to the 9th of September. We cut lettuce for $4.50 an hour and continue this until the cauliflower season, which starts the 1st of November and lasts until the 17th of April.'

"They stay with the cauliflower even though there is still work with the lettuce. The lettuce is finished by the 22nd of April.

"'We work eight hours in the fields in Arizona.' On the 1st of May this family moves to California with the younger children while the older children remain with family members until school

is out. In California the husband starts to work right away, but the wife stays home for a few days or a week before starting to work."

Another migrant family said that the husband drives a tomato truck from the 13th of August until the 13th of October. A typical day during the time of the tomato harvest begins at 6 a.m. and lasts until 10 p.m. One migrant said: "They pay us $3.50 and we work like *burros* in the fields."

REASONS AND RATIONALES FOR MOVING. The above statement provides a transition that begins to explain the question, "What are the reasons and rationalizations that the migrants have for moving?" The basic reason underlying all others is economics—both the economics of individual migrant families, and of the agricultural industry in our nation. Many of the migrants move in order to allow their whole family to work, at the very season when there is no work at home. Since the children are out of school, the summer months spent upstream are a chance for the whole family to work and make money.

Migrant clinic outreach worker in Florida:

Matilde: "If you are stable in one place you have no problems. The ones that have problems are the ones that travel. We travel to look for work, because we are not going to hold hopes of finding work here where we know there isn't any."

Q: "You know there is a time in the year where there's not going to be anything?"

Matilde: "We know. We know there isn't anything; we know we are going to be tight; we know many times there won't even be enough to pay rent. You are not going to pay rent with food stamps, so, you have to look. You have to look to find work. Those who don't have stable jobs have to go out and look."

Some migrants are fortunate in their home base areas, and can piece together almost 12 months worth of employment out of their seasonal labor. For example the move from Arizona to California allows for the families to work almost the whole year. For these families the move enables them to occasionally get ahead, which they would not be able to do if they remained in Arizona during the hot summer season when there is little agriculture.

A migrant from Arizona said:

"We came here for my husband's work. We are building a house over there and if we come here we can save more money. We can take back some money to Arizona. We came here for the first time in 1981. We started our house over there three years ago. We are living in it and only need the sidewalks in order to finish it."

Not all migrants have the luxury of getting ahead, so the primary reason they migrate is to escape poverty at home, whether home is a U.S. home-base state or an international location. One of the most common reasons that the international migrants gave for doing migrant labor in the U.S. was the lack of work at home.

Mexican migrant worker in Florida:

> "I asked Mr. Ramírez why they had come to the U.S. He said they came because they could earn more money here. He said there are no jobs in Mexico. I said the jobs they could find here, like working in the fields, are hard jobs. Mr. Martínez replied, 'Here it is difficult, but it is better than there (Mexico).'"

Another Mexican migrant worker in Florida:

> "Mr. Martínez told me he and his wife used to live in a ranch in Mexico. He remembers how hard life was then.They did not have electricity so they had to use an oil lamp to light the house. Mrs. Martínez said she and other women used to go up the mountain to get wood for cooking.
>
> "Their house was made of adobe. To get to the nearest town to get supplies they had to walk 2½ hours to the road to catch the bus. The bus ride was another ½ hour. ...I asked Mrs. Martínez if she would like to go back to live in the ranch. She said no, she would like to stay here because things are much easier."

In addition to economic problems, some of the international migrants are fleeing war at home. Once in the U.S, many can only find work in agriculture and thus, they become migrants. Migrant worker from El Salvador:

> " I asked Mrs. Santillo why they had come to the U.S. from El Salvador. She said her husband came to work in 1980. He came in illegally. The family stayed behind in El Salvador because the children were going to school there.
>
> "Mrs. Santillo said her husband wanted to come back but she told him not to. Things had started to get pretty bad there. Mother and daughter remember seeing planes flying over the village and they could hear the bombs. Mrs. Santillo said the bodies of young girls were showing up in the woods near the village. That's when she decided it was time to leave."

Even within the United States, poverty drives people who want to work to move to find it, and hasdone so throughout the history of the nation. One of the ethnographers asked about work in a home-base state (Texas, Rio Grande Valley):

> "'Parents may go back to work in the fields if they are lucky enough to find a job,' he said. There aren't many jobs in Texas in the winter time. People survive on what they earned upstream....

> In 6 months a family of four can earn enough to live for the rest of the year.
>
> "While they are in New York they don't pay rent nor do they have any major expenses. It is not uncommon to work 6 or 7 days a week or to work 10 to 12 hours when they are upstream.
>
> "When they go back Texas they pay their large debts and budget the rest of the money to make it last for the rest of the year.... 'Once school is out parents want children to work,' Juan said. The main reason why migrants come up north is that there is work for the whole family. Kids as young as nine and ten are working whole days."

Another reason for migrating is to seek better opportunities. Working conditions and pay are often not good enough to cause someone to remain on the job. In many cases farmers hire workers, making promises of raises and benefits that are never fulfilled. Anglo dairy migrant worker in New York:

> " Mrs. Murphy told me the last farmer they had worked for had offered them free housing and utilities. A couple months after they moved in the farmer decided to charge them rent, and later on he added utilities. After that they moved to a new farm."

What all of this boils down to, based on the interviews in three migrant streams, is that most people would not migrate if they had reasonable alternatives. For example, when asked, the migrant students we interviewed had something similar to the following to say about their desire to pursue migrant farm labor when they were adults (from Mary Felegy's field notes):

> "Emphatic *'NO!'*s all around when asked if they would like to continue migrating when they had their own families."
>
> A: "No, I wouldn't like to do it. I wanna get a good career and get a good job. That's what my brothers are doing. I have three brothers, 2 are in university, and one is in college. And they're getting a career. No, it wasn't all bad, but it's hard and I still don't wanna do It."

DECIDING WHERE TO MOVE, AND WHEN. Deciding where to go, and when to move, involve more considerations than the availability of work in a certain location. The more sophisticated migrants go through a complex decision process. The decision involves knowledge about the length of seasons, the timing of crops, and knowledge about changing conditions upstream (crop failures as well as bumper crops) based on word of mouth networks. The decision can also mean balancing a high rate of pay for a short season against longer employment at lower wages.

Anita asked one migrant father how families decide to go to one place instead of another. He told her that there were various reasons. In one area he could get work during the winter and summer but the rents were high. However, they pay better. He said if there were many people in the family who were working, it pays to go to a place where there is a lot of work even though the rent is high. His wife said that they go to a particular camp because of the child care facilities as well as the rent, because there is not always work for everyone.

Some families who don't want to move for the whole season might chose to move for a few months. One family moved for two months to work in the canneries, and said why:

> "...we can get a lot of money there. They pay me $9 an hour and they pay (my husband) $9.25 an hour. Here in the lettuce the woman gets $5.75 an hour and the man gets $6.80 an hour. Right now there is some work with the cotton, weeding the plants. But they only pay $4.50 an hour and they treat you bad."

The decisions also involve social considerations, such as housing, availability of schools and other services, and the presence or absence of friends, relatives, and local contacts.

For the less well informed, the process is less complicated, but much more dangerous. Migrants often take two to three years of difficult migrations and poor return for their effort before they are able to settle into a migration pattern that works. Texas migrant mother:

> Sra. "L" is not sure if they will go this year or not. Last summer they didn't plan to go, her brother just said, "*¡Vámonos!*" and they upped and went. She said they looked and looked until they found a rancher to work for, and that it is hard to find work if you don't already have a relationships established with an employer. "*Toda la gente tiene su ranchero y es bien difícil encontrar un ranchero. Hay mucha competencia entre los trabajadores.*" [Translation: Everyone has their grower and it is very difficult to find one of your own. There is a lot of competition among the workers.]

Housing can be a critical variable in the choice of where to move. Anita asked one migrant family head in Arizona why they chose one location over another:

> "He responded that his wife was very friendly, and that there was a person in Arizona that was going to the camp in California and she asked him if they could follow him and he said, 'Yes.' This was earlier before they had a system of numbers (lottery for the houses in the camps), and they arrived and there was a line, 'From here to those trees,' pointing about one mile away. He said that they waited all day until the night and then a man came up in a jeep and told them that all of the houses were taken. He suggested

to them that they go to____(town)___, that there was a camp there that might have places for them.

"So they drove over there and finally at 11:00 at night they got a place. Now they receive a card in the mail that gives them a number so that they don't have to wait in a line. That was 16 years ago and they are still going back to the same camp."

The housing problem crops up in all of the migrant streams, and because of positive intentions by state and federal agencies to close inferior and dangerous housing, many migrants find it increasingly difficult to find any housing at all.

Hispanic migrant worker in Florida:

"Mrs. Rodríguez said housing was one of the major disadvantages to moving. She said housing is always a problem when they go to Virginia. She said most of the people living in the camp go to Virginia after the crops are finished here. However, there are already people working there: planting and laying plastic. When they are done here and go up to Virginia they can't find housing because everything is already taken."

Another Hispanic migrant in Florida:

"Mrs. B said she could not have her children in the program (migrant) because she had not traveled for the last two years. She said she explained to them (migrant day care manager) that the reason why she did not travel was because she had 5 children and it's hard to find housing.

"She told me the last time she went to (upstream state) they had everything arranged with the farmer to work for him. They had to borrow $200 to get there and when they did the crew leader told them and 3 other families with children, that they could not stay because they could not give them a house. They had no money to come back to Florida so, the crew leader gave them the money they needed.

"They now live in a camp where they allow them to stay year round. Mrs. B said they don't want to be sent back again or lose the house they have now so they have to stay where they are."

Sometimes the decision of where to move is based on chance acquaintances, coupled with some reason to change the migration pattern (better pay, crop failure in the old place, etc.).

Migrant student in Texas:

"We used to go near Amarillo to get the potato out and everything, and clean the *betabel* (beets, or sugar beets) and all that stuff. But now we are planning to go to Mississippi, and we're still planning to go but it depends if my dad gets work here or not. This friend of my mom's, she went with a group to Austin [Statewide PAC meeting], I guess. She left for about a week and she had a roommate and this roommate told her about working in Mississippi and all that stuff, So she told my dad and my dad said that

> if he didn't have work in the summer he would go. And I don't think he's gonna work here, so we're still planning on it."

On the other hand, friendships formed in the camps are one reason that some migrants go back to the same places every year. Some migrants told the ethnographers that they had more friends in the migrant camp than they did in their home town where they had grown up. Many of the same people returned to the camp year after year.

One migrant family that was having a hard time adjusting told Anita:

> "I don't think we will come here again. It is too hard. It is hard when you don't have friends where you are living."

For some migrant families, the decision becomes highly routine, because the family develops a strong tie with a particular grower and returns to the same farm, or set of farms, year after year, as seen from one migrant mother's comments:

> "We already been working with him since 1976. And he knows that with all the work there he don't have to teach us anything. We just go there and go work. And he don't like to hire people that don't know anything because it's hard for him and he says that he loses a lot of time teaching them how to do the job. And he says that he likes people that already know it."

So for some migrants, the target location may be an extended family tradition that crosses several generations and involves parents, cousins, aunts and uncles, and relatives by marriage. In the camp where one ethnographer was living, some families were third generation migrants, and their extended family was living in the camp also. They felt there were many advantages of having family members and friends living near them.

Some migrants used their knowledge of social services as one variable in the decision as to what were desirable locations to move to; especially attractive are those states where migrants were given preferential treatment. Migrant worker from Florida:

> "Petra said in Indiana they receive a lot of help from an organization she referred to as 'the migrant program.'"
>
> Petra: "From there we go to the migrant program, I mean, they come when the people arrive. I get there today and tomorrow they know I'm there and they come and enroll everybody."
>
> Q: "They come to the camp?"
>
> Petra: "Yes, they take notes, and then, they tell you to go to the office and get groceries, vouchers for gas, vouchers for new tires."
>
> Q: "Can you go every week?"

Petra: "No, just when we get there or when there is no work."

Migrants also stated that a change of climate was one of the advantages of migration. Migrants from southern Arizona, where the temperature reaches 115° in the summer, described the milder summers in California as an advantage to moving. Other migrants enjoy the change in scenery. One migrant said:

"We move so that we are not a slave of the field all of the year. We move to rest from being in the same place all of the time."

And some of the migrant children that Mary interviewed recognized the broadening aspects of travel to other areas:

Celia: "It takes time to meet many people. I like it though. It's nice to meet some people from other cultures. You learn many things. You just don't meet Anglos, you meet Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Cubans—I prefer it, to meet lots of people. It's good. You learn more things than if you were staying in the same place all the time. I wouldn't wanna stay in (Texas border town) all the time, it would be boring."

Ernesto: "Yes! Me too! I like to get out."

Antonio: "No, not me. I want to stay in (Texas border town). It's my home."

For at least some foreign migrants, education for their children may be a pull factor, along with the economic benefits of migration. Anita discovered that many Mexican families migrated north to the border of Arizona and Mexico so that they could work and so that their children could attend school in the United States. They moved north when school started in the fall, and many of the families began returning deeper into Mexico sometime in the late spring. Most of the children stayed with friends or relatives until school was out in the spring. Learning English is viewed by many Spanish-speaking migrant parents as the key to success.

Another contrast, in terms of deciding where to move and when, comes from the increasing numbers of Vietnamese migrants. These migrant laborers currently follow two primary occupations, beef processing and fishing. Their migratory patterns are determined by the location of these two industries and they concentrate in the states that most strongly support those industries (e.g. Kansas, Texas, Louisiana, etc.). Mary found Vietnamese migrants moving from the fishing boats on the coast of Texas to the beef packing plants of Kansas, and back again as the two industries went through seasonal changes.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BECAUSE OF MOVING—DISADVANTAGES. The process of moving is very expensive and many migrants arrive at their destination with little or no money and food. In some migrant camps, the camp directors allow migrants to defer payment for housing until they received their first checks. But this is not always the case.

From Anita Wood's notes:

> "Foremen in the fields told me that they would sometimes loan money to the workers until they were paid. One lady with a family of seven told me that one day the week before they had not had enough food to make the lunches. She had not told anyone in the camp about her problem.
>
> "Because most of the migrants that I interviewed in California had been migrating to the same location for up to 17 years, they often left their belongings in an old car and left the car with a farmer or a friend. One lady described to me how the rats had gotten into the car that they had left last year and had eaten holes in all of the blankets and sheets.
>
> "Others described how difficult it was to leave their houses unattended in another location. Some had had their houses robbed while they were gone and to prevent theft almost all had to remove the electrical appliances from their homes before leaving. Others had relatives live in the house or paid someone to watch it while they were gone."

Some migrants told how difficult it was to be without family and good friends. Translated from Spanish:

> "The disadvantages, I understand, is having to deal with people that you do not know, that you do not have a friendship with them. And to try to endure them and understand each other. It is an advantage when you know people."

This problem of isolation can border on a fear of strangers and an unwillingness to make contacts. This is one of the reasons why the migrant recruiters are so important to the program, and one of the reasons that the good ones are so highly respected in the migrant camps.

In the same way, the program can be very important for the children. One migrant described the problems that the young people had:

> "I think that for the young people, adolescents, more than for the children, in certain occasions, are slower in adapting to a change in their life, when you go from one place to another moving. Possibly it is more difficult for the young people and at this age they need more advice from people outside of the house."

This view was well supported by the comments of a group of migrant children interviewed by Mary Felegy:

Ernesto: "When you have to move you feel bad! Because you leave everybody and you don't see them till...."

Antonio: "And you know you're gonna miss all your friends!"

Celia: "And then you're over there and you don't wanna come back here!"

Ernesto: "Yeah, it's the same thing for wherever you have to leave. It's hard to have to always leave and come back and say goodbye all the time."

David: "Like when you're over there, you don't want to come here. Like Michigan. It's a real nice place."

Celia: "It's just the changing part that's hard. Once you get used to it, you adjust, right? And then you like it."

Antonio: "Sometimes you get so nervous about it, though, you get like sick. You know, like an upset stomach (everyone laughs). You know, not really sick.... Oh, just sometimes."

Ernesto: "It takes time to adjust. It takes time."

Bureaucratic red tape sometimes affects migrants. One U.S. migrant told Anita that while visiting Mexico, their baby had contracted encephalitis and was now severely retarded. The two States in which the family lived had each refused to provide medical insurance for the family:

Anita: "I asked the lady if this was the first time that they had encountered problems while they had been moving around and she replied, 'Yes it is. It was the first time and we got no help.'"

For other migrants, economics drives the decision process, virtually to the exclusion of everything else. These individuals will tolerate all types of difficult situations in order to maximize their return: "We go where they pay more and where the work is easier."

THE MOVING PROCESS. All of the moves the ethnographers observed were family moves. In the East Coast stream, there are crew leaders who take bus loads of single males north for the season, and there are some comparable situations in the other migrant streams. But the focal point of this ethnography was the education of migrant children, so the only moves of interest were those that involved children.

Marcela found that migrants in the Eastern stream travel in at least two slightly different ways: as a single family or with a group of families in a caravan. Single men traveling along tend to travel by themselves or they tag on to a caravan of families. The caravans are usually headed by a crew leader who is taking his crew to work upstream.The trip north is non-stop except for brief halts to eat and use the bathrooms,

and longer stops to rest when the driver is too tired to continue. Car trouble is not unusual, and people who drive old cars prefer to travel in a caravan because help is available if the car breaks down.

Marcela kept the following log of a trip she participated in from Florida to South Carolina:

> Notes from 6/10/87
>
> "Florinda, the crew leader, pays for the gas of her three cars, but she doesn't charge anything to those she is taking with her in the van."
>
> 1:20 p.m.: "Leave Palmetto, Florida for South Carolina. The caravan consisted of 5 cars including a white truck, a van, 2 pickups, and a car with single men. Mike on the white truck headed the caravan and Florinda in the pickup close to it. I traveled in the pickup with Florinda (with air conditioning!!!). In the back of the pickup we had Florinda's children: Alice, Paula, Johny, and Michael. Besides them, there was Alicia and her baby son José. Ester and her baby came in the front with us because of the air conditioner. Four dogs completed the troupe in the back."
>
> 10:00 p.m.: "We leave the truck stop. Florinda, after consulting with Mike, decides to go on hoping the white truck will not break down. I traveled with her in the front of the pick up. The kids were sleeping in the back. Florinda looked tired and I talked to her to keep her awake. She was worried about the driver in front of her because he seemed to be getting off the road too much. She was afraid he was falling asleep."
>
> 12:00 p.m.: "Flor wants to stop to give people a chance to rest. We pulled out at a rest stop along the highway."
>
> 5:45 a.m.: "We leave the rest stop where we spent the night."
>
> 8:30 a.m.: "Stop for breakfast."
>
> 8:46 a.m.: "As soon as we left the breakfast place the car with the singles stops off the road. The others had gone ahead. I pull off the road to see what happened. They have lost the muffler. The men get out and try to tie it with something."
>
> 9:00 a.m.: "Stop off the road. The single's car lost the muffler again."
>
> 9:25 a.m.: "Stop again. The white truck is losing oil, they think it is a seal."
>
> 11:45 a.m.: "Arrive at destination."

As can be seen from these brief notes, the stress associated with these trips is very high.

Migrants in the Midwest stream travel either in single cars or in caravans of families. Going east, many stop in Hope, Arkansas. There is a migrant facility in Hope where they can stay at least over night and sometimes for a few days. Hope

has special facilities and programs for migrants. But the families traveling in any other direction from Texas just drive straight through, sometimes staying on the road for 20 to 36 hours straight. Most of the vehicles are old, and the trips are non-stop. If you get sick, you stay sick until you reach your destination, unless the situation is desperate. Breakdowns are common, and one of the planned-for expenses of the move is the cost of fixing some major part on a car.

Migrant worker from Texas:

> "Mrs. Sáenz complained that the truck had given her a lot of trouble on their trip up from Texas. She said she was not used to driving such a long way and she was scared. She and a friend shared the driving, but it was very tiring. She was afraid of the big trucks that passed them on the highway.... Mrs. Santana said the whole trip cost her $400 between preparation of the car and expenses along the road. I said she'd have to save a lot of money to go back home. She said if she didn't have the money she would have to borrow it from her sisters back in Texas."

The cost of the move, and fear that one will not be able to afford to get home are constant themes in discussions by migrants about the moving process.

Sometimes the decision to move is not made until almost the last possible minute:

> "One lady from Guanajuato, Mexico, said that just one day they think about leaving, 'like you would think about going on a vacation.' She said that it took her about four days to get everything ready, washing and ironing the clothes and getting all of the kitchen things ready.
>
> "Another lady, when asked about her trip up from Mexico said that last year they had left an old car with her husband's brother filled with their things. They drove up in another car from Guanajuato. The trip lasted 4 days and they slept alongside the road. I asked her how the trip was and she said that all they did was drive, drive, drive. There were five in the car. From 11 or 12 at night until 4 to 5 in the morning they stopped and slept.
>
> "They brought their own food. She said that now in Mexico there is very little work and many people robbed you. They were afraid to sleep along the road but they didn't have any choice. She said that the food that you would buy along the trip was very bad, and sometimes it made you sick."

One teenager described her trip up from Mexico:

> "My sister and my aunt threw up. It was so hot."

Some migrants described how they drove here and stayed up all night in several restaurants waiting for the camp to open, because they didn't have the money to pay for a room. Some

stopped off and stayed with relatives along the way. Some make the whole trip up from Mexico in a bus. Others described the whole family sitting in a car all night waiting to find housing.

One migrant described the moving process as follows:

> "Sometimes the first of April and at times the 25th of March there was no work and so I would say to my wife and kids, 'Let's go, let's go to California.' I had a little car then and there were many of us for one little car so it was difficult to find a house for a family of 8 in ___[town]___. It was difficult and we had to sleep in the car for several nights seated. But we like it because we knew that another day we would find work and be able to obtain money in order to eat."

Not all moves are quite so bad. some families have a relatively easy move. Anita states:

> "The move that I made with a family from southern Arizona to Northern California was one of the easier trips. The family had one car and a pickup with a trailer. I drove my car and brought the 13-year-old boy, the *tortillas*, *menudo*, and four large rounds of cheese. We began our trip at 4:00 a.m., stopping about every 45 minutes to rest or to eat, and arrived at our destination 14 hours later. We stayed in a motel for the night and the family went out to a restaurant to eat that evening. The family arose to go to the camp at 7:00 a.m. after resting comfortably for the evening."

Conditions for Migrants Upstream

HOUSING. Housing conditions vary wildly for migrants, from area to area, and even within the same locale. Some migrants live in well-kept quarters furnished either by the growers, or by the State and Federal government. On the other hand, some migrant families working close to the border of Mexico, had to live in the orchards where they picked lemons and oranges during the day. They slept in orange crates under the trees.

From Anita Wood's notes:

> "While in California, I lived in a Federally funded government camp for migrant workers. The operation of the camp was overseen by the county. The camp had houses for about 75 families and was well run by a competent, friendly, helpful staff. In the camp were child care facilities, which were open from 5:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. and a school for children 3 and 4 years old.
>
> "Rents were low, and for a small four bedroom house the migrants paid $120 a month, with utilities furnished. Laundry facilities and playgrounds were available for the families. The camp was a close community, even though most families did not live in

the same communities downstream. Most of the families in the camp migrated from Mexico."

In other locations, living conditions were not so good. Some private camps in other areas were greatly inferior. In some locations housing was difficult to obtain and it was expensive, especially when the crops started to come in.

Migrant male in California, translated from Spanish:

"In ___[town]___, when there is no lettuce, the prices were lower and you could rent a place cheaper. When there was lettuce, the houses cost a lot to rent. The life made us suffer a lot. At times I sleep uncomfortably."

A more vivid description of living conditions that were "not so good" comes from a migrant family who migrated for the first time in a long time, going north:

"Last year was the first year she went north since she was a child. She went with her children and her brother and his family to (upstream state) to work in sugar beets, and clearing stones from other fields. They left on May 20 and returned on July 4th.

"Living conditions there were abysmal: the farmer provided a one room house with no furniture, running water or electricity. They had to sleep—when they succeeded in actually falling asleep—on the dirt floor and were often infested with lice and bothered by all sorts of other bugs, rats, etc. For this the rancher charged them $250 a month rent, and they paid for all utilities separately. She said that she was constantly tired.

"After having worked all day in the fields, she had to cook and clean and take care of her children, and it seemed as if she was constantly washing clothes to 'try and remove the soil from our clothes and our lives. We suffered a lot. It was a real struggle for me.'

"Before they found a rancher to work for and a place to live up there she said they had to sleep in the park in the cold until they found something."

A TYPICAL WORK DAY. Migrants always described their work as very hard. A migrant father told how it was to work in the fields (translated from Spanish):

"This is the life of the country. It is very agreeable for the air that you breathe in the country, because you have to get up at 5:00 a.m., and the dirt smells wet, very beautiful.

"But when it is windy, when there is dust, when there is rain, the work has to continue, even though you are very wet. And they say (the bosses) *they* can't work when they are wet and 'Let's go, boys, to the house,' but here there are people that have to remain and work, even though they are soaking wet.

> "Everything is wet, your clothes, your papers, your billfold. This is the life of the worker. But there is nothing else if you don't study."

Each of the ethnographers collected information on a typical work day for the people they lived with, both in their home base and upstream. The following account, from Anita's notes is typical of all three streams, varying only in terms of the foods the women prepare, and perhaps an hour or two on one end of the day or the other, depending on when the sun rises and sets at that season:

> "A typical work day in the summer begins for the women around 3:45 a.m. when they get up to make the lunches for the family. The lunches are substantial, not a measly sandwich. The women cook the meat, make tortillas and cook the beans and make burritos for the family to take to work and school. If there are small children in the house, they are taken to the child care facility, which opens at 5:00 a.m., either to spend the day, or, if they were older, to wait for the bus to pick them up to take them to school.
>
> "The families left at 5:30 a.m. to drive to the fields for the day. Work begins at 6:00 a.m. and the work day is 10 hours long. Some members of most families work all day Saturday, and I observed some who worked one-half day on Sunday. The foremen in the fields gives two breaks of 15 minutes each, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. There is a 30-minute lunch break.
>
> "While hoeing and picking, workers talk back and forth to each other 'telling adventures.' Some of the women have radios strapped to their backs and they play music and listen to soap operas. When the soap operas come on, most of the workers—men and women—work within earshot of the radio.
>
> "Workers work rapidly in the morning, but close to quitting time, do not do much except move their hoes around in one place. A horn sounds at 4:30 and everyone leaves for the day.
>
> "Once back at the camp, the women go to pick up the children in the child care facility and return to their houses to start dinner. Family members take turns showering and helping in the kitchen. Later, the women will go to do the laundry.
>
> "One of the informants said, 'When we get back after working everyone has something to do. I come to the kitchen to start dinner and my husband will go in the shower. My daughter will be back with the baby. After one person has showered, the next person will, and that person will come in and help with the cooking. We all share the tasks.'"

Anita appended a note to this description, saying that in this particular family the husband helped with the tasks, but, she stated, his behavior was far from the norm. Most of the men

did not help with cooking and clothes, either in the morning or at night.

GENERAL WORK CONDITIONS. Work conditions are, in large part, determined by the farmer, the contractor who works directly for the farmer, or by the foreman who is responsible for seeing that the workers do their job.

From the field notes:

> "If work was plentiful, workers have a choice with whom they worked. A good boss was one that provided ice for the water on a hot day, didn't order the workers around and was fair with the workers.
>
> "One migrant was hiding from a *contratista* (contractor) in a camp one day and explained, 'I don't want to work for him. He is a nice person, but sometimes we only work for three hours. He comes in the morning and chooses the people that are going to work that day. It is better if we all work until there is no more work and then we all quit.'"

The sun can get hot during a day in the field. Anita asked one of the migrant women if they had any shade to eat under in the fields for lunch:

> "She said that sometimes there wasn't any. She said once that they had gone to a nut orchard nearby where they were working, to sit in the shade. The owner came up and told them that they couldn't sit there, so they left and sat in the sun. She said that she didn't know why because they always cleaned up after themselves. They put their cups in the large cups after drinking and all of their things from lunch go in the garbage."

ISOLATION. One literally invisible consequence of doing migrant work is the isolation of the migrants from the rest of the community where they are living. Camps are located in rural areas near the fields or in low income urban areas. To live in the camp one has to work for the farmer or company who owns it, therefore, all the people in camps are migrants. Moreover, ethnic groups are often kept separate and very rarely do they interact with each other, thus re-enforcing the isolation.

Outreach supervisor in migrant health clinic in Florida:

> "Sister Michelle said she grew up in a rural community and knew first hand how closed to outsiders they were. She said rural communities accepted migrants as a necessary thing, but the attitude was: 'You came to pick the crop, when you're done, you may get on.'"

Migrants recognize both the isolation, and that they are viewed as outsiders. They do no necessarily like it, and they often speak about trying to get the local people to recognize

that they are not very different from the people who live in the area year round.

Crew leader in Florida:

> Florinda: "Ours is another world. One time they did a newspaper article on us."
>
> Q: "Who did it?"
>
> Florinda: "A local newspaper in South Carolina. He asked me what we did for recreation and those things.
>
> "I said, 'Well, we are normal people like you. We go to the movies, we go to K Mart, you know. We are normal, just because we are migrants it doesn't mean we are from another world!'
>
> " He laughed. We go to the movies, to the skate rink, or we go to watch a baseball game when we are off, or to the public beach or the pool. They think we are from another world."

Sometimes the isolation is not simply cultural, it is geographical as well. In areas where the population density is very low to begin with, and where the farms are widely scattered and need only a small labor force, a migrant family can easily be the only one around.

From Mary Felegy's field notes:

> "This family goes to Minnesota every May and returns each year in November. Their *ranchero* of 14 years just called them and told them that the planting would be a little late this year and they could wait a few weeks if they wanted.
>
> "On the ranch in __[town]__, Minnesota they work sugar beets and then move to __[town]__, Minnesota early in the fall to can corn. In neither place do they know of a migrant school program.
>
> "Both towns are extremely small and sparsely populated and very few migrant families work near them. The nearest town and program that they know of is, they say, 70 miles away; much too far to be of use to their children.
>
> "No one from the school has ever contacted them in either place, nor has the rancher or anyone at the canning company ever referred them to any school program. They said this year they would ask about one."

UNCERTAINTY: A MAJOR STRESSOR. One of the distinctions of migrant work is its uncertainty. This is especially true in relation to the work of migrants who pick crops. Just waiting around for one's *ranchero* to call and say the crops are ready can be trying for the whole family, and especially for the children in school.

Migrant health clinic outreach worker:

"Matilde says it is difficult to plan for the future when one is a migrant (she migrates during the summer): 'Here you had it good, but in North Carolina you may not have it so good.

"'There are years that when you start working you have more money than when you're finished and ready to go back home. The work of a migrant has no security.'"

Sometimes the jobs can disappear altogether. When the prices of agricultural products are not convenient for the farmer he may choose not to harvest the crop or not to sell the milk. The current farm crisis effects more people that the family farmer whose livelihood is in jeopardy. Black migrant worker in New York:

Rosie: "This year we only had nine trees of cherries to pick because the rain had them bust the cherries and they were no good. So the farmer was not getting anything for the sour cherries and he decided he wouldn't pick them."

Anglo migrant in New York:

Q: "OK, and when was it that you moved to __[town]__?"

A: "A year ago in April."

Q: "And what happened?"

A: "We was there for 6 months when the farmer sold out. He auctioned and got rid of everything."

Yet, for some migrant workers, this uncertainty is balanced by the amount of freedom that characterizes at least some aspects of migrant and seasonal farm labor.

Hispanic migrant worker:

Mrs. Sereno: "Look, working in the fields you can go the days you want to go and if you don't want to go you don't. If you take a stable job you have to go every day at the same time. There are times when a child is sick, other times when they call me from school to go and get one of my children because he is sick and if I wasn't there...."

Q: "So, you are saying that for a mother with many children it is better to work in the fields because you can take the day off when you want to?"

Mrs. Sereno: "Yes. In a stable job you have to go everyday, and if you don't they find someone else."

But even with this freedom, the price is that it is only freedom for people who are young and healthy and have a choice.

A Black migrant couple in New York:

Q: "So you are saying you don't want to take another job?"

Mr. Salmon: "I'm thinking about it. I'm probably getting tired of this and all. But, we are pretty young still we, you know, and

think: we can make pretty good money, at least this week, your money was quicker, you could have made what you want.

"You didn't have to go to the boss man to raise the piece. You can raise the piece when you want, go to work when you want, and knock off when you want. It's up to you how much your body can stand.... Like a couple of years ago if you got a job paying you $125 a week, you'd be making good money. OK, when we are in the season, maybe if we are running good one day we can make that much in one day."

CHILD LABOR. Children are essential to the economy of the migrant household when migrants are being paid on a piece work basis for harvesting labor--intensive crops, or where there is little good paying work and everyone is being paid minimum wage by the hour. As soon as they are old enough to work, some of the children are in the fields helping their parents. For migrants working outside of labor intensive crops, like dairy, poultry, food processing, this may not be the case. However, even in those situations, children also contribute to the household economy by babysitting for younger siblings and doing house chores, enabling the mother to work:

Florinda: "The sister of this young man, she used to take care of all her brothers and sisters. There were a lot of them. She cooked, she made *tortillas*, because my mother worked. Every day when we came back from school my sister would fix dinner for all the children. When my mother got home everything was done."

Ester: "When you wanted to stay after school, you know, you couldn't because you had to go home to take care of the children, start supper, and clean the house. When I was 11 I was already making *tortillas*, my sister cooked and we washed clothes."

Migrant recruiters and their supervisors often run into a conflict between the need for the child to work, and the necessity of the child being in school. The following interview was observed and recorded in New York:

Director of summer school: "Let's talk about who is going to come to school."

Mom: "Armando. José is working."

Director: "José is working too? Do you think he'll work all summer?"

Mom: "Well, this morning he was tired and my husband told him if he wants to go to summer school, and he said, 'No, no, no! I don't want to go.'"

Ethnographer: "How old is José?"

Mom: "He is ten."

The need to maximize income and the need to help the children get out of the migrant stream often produces mixed

feelings. The following is a quote from a man who arrived upstream with no money and had taken his high school age boys to the fields with him to work. The man was angry when the foreman would not hire his boys:

> Ethnographer: "Do you think that it is important that young people help out economically in the family?"
>
> Migrant: "I think that when the parents are having difficult times economically, I think that it is a great help that the children help during the time of vacation. But I think that it would be better, in those cases, to take a lot of care.
>
> "At times, there are people that don't value the education of their children, and they take them out of school to put them to work. Some of the parents become ambitious and want to earn a set amount of money, and they let the children sacrifice their education. I believe it is preferable to educate them than to put them to work.
>
> "But in certain occasions it is important that the kids help their parents. Because generally people like us who are in this situation have a very low income."

The role of the foremen or *mayordomo* is very important for some of the cases where children work or do not work in the fields. Regardless of the laws or the wishes of the grower or the educational system, they are the ones who generally hire the workers, and they have a lot of influence over whether the children are in schools studying or in the fields working.

In one state, young people are required to present a card stating that their school has terminated before they can work in the fields. Generally this was adhered to, but some foremen made exceptions when there seemed to be an economic hardship in the family. Others were very strict, and would not hire young people until school was out.

One foreman expressed concern to Anita because a father was trying to get him to hire his high school sons. He told her that the family should not have moved until the sons were finished with school that spring. Because he would not hire the boys, the family enrolled the boys in school.

Role Relationships of Migrants

MALE/FEMALE ROLES. The following statement is typical of many made by a migrant females:

> "The women have a harder time. When they get home from work they have to cook the dinner and wash and iron the clothes. Sometimes the men cooperate, but sometimes they don't."

An interesting observation derived from the interviews with Hispanic migrant women was that those who had come from Mexico following their husbands had never done agricultural work before they came to the U.S. However, those women whose parents had come from Mexico to work in agriculture in the U.S. had a migratory past and experience in the fields:

> Mrs. Centeno: "We got married and we came over here. My father had already been to this side."
>
> Q: "Your father also worked in the fields?"
>
> Mrs. Centeno: "Yes. When my husband and I came we worked in anything we could find: tomato...."
>
> Q: "Had you ever worked in the fields before?"
>
> Mrs. Centeno: "No, never. My father hired men to help him."

This is contrasted with the multiple generation migrant families in the U.S. Hispanic migrant woman in New York:

> "Mrs. Benavídez and her husband were both raised in Mission, TX. They have 3 kids, the oldest one was born in Ohio and the other two in Texas. Mrs. Benavídez comes from a migrant family. Her father was a crew leader and all of her brothers are crew leaders now. When she came with her father as a child the main crop here was sugar beets. Now she and her family work in the cabbage."

ADULT/CHILD ROLES. Migrants talk about families who use their children to better themselves financially, and the statement that Mexican migrants "live like kings" in Mexico was heard several times. It seems that in addition to the resources gained by working in the United States, some migrant families have sacrificed their children's education for their own economic gains.

The amount of money which the young person who worked kept for himself, and the amount that he gave to the family varied from household to household. Some, mostly young women, gave almost the entire amount to the family. Young men kept more money for themselves, to help pay for their cars and other needs. Young people who worked in the summers usually paid for some or all of their clothes with their earnings.

In addition to helping out by earning money, migrant children, especially female, are expected to help out in the house. Boys and girls baby sit for their younger brothers and sisters and children often accompany their parents when they are in need of translators. Some of these obligations to the family interfere with the child's education because they require that he miss school to help out.

ROLE RELATIONSHIPS WITH INSTITUTIONS. Many migrants get into cycles of work that pay well, but interfere with their children's education. It takes a special effort to break out of these cycles, but, through the intervention of school personnel, this breakout can occur, to the benefit of the children. Migrant personnel in an upstream state caused the following change in behavior. Migrant mother in Florida:

> "Isabel says this is the first year they returned to Florida in time for children to start school. In previous years, when they went to Illinois, they would not return to Florida until October 6th. By then, her children had already missed a lot of class and were behind, and they needed help to catch up."

Migrant Relationships with Institutions

DEPENDENCE VS. INDEPENDENCE. Anita Wood made the following statement, based on extensive ethnographic data from observations and interviews. It goes against a number of stereotypes of migrants, and is all the more important because of that.

> "The migrant families that I observed very seldom depended on outside agencies for help. They took pride in the fact that they could work and immediately sought work when arriving in a new location.
>
> "Occasionally, especially when they first arrived and did not have money, some would go for food stamps. Two women who were sick went to receive unemployment benefits. But many expressed their desire to work and not cause the government any problems. Some told me that there were people who needed help more than they did."

Yet this independence had its limits. Everyone needs help of one type or another at some time. For migrants, this occasional need for help was complicated by their being strangers to the community:

> "When they needed help and were fortunate enough to have obtained government housing, many migrants depended on the personnel in the camp office to make phone calls and take them places in emergencies. When they knew them, some depended on and called upon migrant staff in the school when they had problems with their children.
>
> "Many migrants, when experiencing problems with their children, did not seek outside help. Often they did not know who could help them with their problems. Some told me that they needed more counselors in the schools so that their children could have someone to talk to."

POWERLESSNESS:BEING STUCK IN THE MIGRANT CYCLE. Although migrant parents express a lot of support for education for their children, there is also a feeling that the cycle of migration may be very hard to break and that their children may end up following their steps any way

> "Mrs. Molina said she always hoped her children would not work in the fields like she did. She said when she grew up in Texas there was no law that mandated children to attend school, so her parents didn't send her after second grade. She said her parents didn't think their children could have better jobs than they did if they went to school. 'It's very hard, very hard to work like this all your life...."

This powerlessness is often viewed as apathy by the elementary school teacher who has migrant students in class, but does not understand migrant lifestyles:

> "They are a little apathetic towards education. I think they think their children are going to do what they do so there is no point."

This feeling of powerlessness is also evident in some of the migrants interviews about the migrant education program. Even though the Parent Advisory Councils (PACs) are mandated to provide a forum for the program and to provide input from the migrants about the program, many parents feel that they would not be listened to, if they spoke out.

A migrant mother in Texas, from notes:

> "Her kids have availed themselves of tutoring at various times off and on, and one of her older sons is attending Saturday high school classes for credit. She could not think of anything she would change about the program and said, 'Even if I could change anything, I probably wouldn't be able to.'"

But not everyone expressed hopelessness. One of the things that the ethnographers discovered was that it was often the migrant mothers who were the firmest supporters of education. They wanted something better for their children; especialy the mothers that got little help for the extra hours that women were expected to put in during the migrant season. And sometimes their hope and support was rewarded.

The following interview expresses that hope, however tenuous:

> Mom: "Ah, I would like it if my children did not have to work in the fields like we are. Because, look now, we are tying tomatoes, I think it's the hardest, look at the blisters I have. I tell my husband... I wouldn't like my children to go like this, sweating.... And he says, 'They don't have a crown, they have to do what we do.' But I don't believe that...."

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY. Migrants have generally positive attitudes towards authority, especially towards the schools. This attitude, especially with Hispanic migrants, sometimes expresses itself in a way that is culturally confusing to school personnel.

Since the parents trust the schools to know what is right for their children, many migrants do not see a need to participate in their child's education in the same way that an Anglo parent would, by having conferences with the teacher. Many parents, when asked by the ethnographers, expressed their confusion at being asked their opinion. Their opinion was that the schools know best. Otherwise, what was the use of all the education that the school personnel had?

The counter charge that migrant parents do not get involved with the school or the education of their children was often recorded, and almost always lacked the knowledge of the above attitude.

Marcela, interviewing teacher with migrant students:

> "She said, 'I wish there was more parental involvement.'
>
> "I asked Mrs. Shriner why she thought migrant parents were not more involved with the education of their children.
>
> "She said, 'One big problem is not being able to get in touch with them. They are working in the fields and they don't have phones at home. I send notes to parents, but get no response.
>
> "'We are not getting to them. We need more contact with adults. When parents do come to school, they are very respectful; they are concerned.'"
>
> "She said, 'Some parents are fearful of teachers. They are almost mute for a while until you put them at ease.'
>
> "I asked Mrs. Shriner why she thought parents felt that way about teachers.
>
> "She speculated: 'We are a different color, we speak English, we've gone to school. They may think we'll look down on them.'"

The migrants gave several different reasons for lack of parental involvement; reasons that kept them from approaching the schools.

Hispanic migrant family:

> "Mrs. Chapa says the teachers send her notes in English about the progress of her children, but she does not speak English. She says she doesn't go to school when they call her because there's nobody there to translate and many times she doesn't have anybody to take her."

Another migrant mother explained that the reason the parents didn't go to the meetings was that most of the meetings were in English, and they didn't understand. This was verified at a meeting held by the school board in one of the districts, especially to receive input on their proposed migrant program:

> "The room was filled with migrant parents and the chairman of the board began speaking in English. After 10 minutes, when someone stopped her and told her that they wanted to translate for the parents, she was very surprised and announced that she didn't realize they were going to translate."

However, language problems are not the only reasons migrants avoid meetings, as is shown by the following interview:

> Q: "Not too many parents go to the meetings (PACs). Yesterday was the last meeting and there were only 10 or 12 people. I was wondering why parents—I don't know—when their children have trouble in school, many parents are reluctant to go."
>
> Father: "Not too many people go. The majority don't want any problems; they don't like getting up in front of other people. I don't know, I can't understand it. In ___(Texas town)___ we had the same problem. Since my wife worked in the (migrant) school we went, but not too many people came, and almost nobody wanted to talk."
>
> Q: "Why didn't they want to talk? Was the meeting in English or Spanish?"
>
> Father: "Spanish."
>
> Q: "So why didn't they want to talk?"
>
> Father: "I guess people are embarrassed."

Anita notes that another reason given for not attending meetings was lack of transportation:

> "It was explained to me that one parent needed to stay with the children, and sometimes the other parent could not drive, so no one attended. One lady told me that she didn't drive, and she had to depend on her husband to take her. If he didn't want to go, they didn't go."

Migrant mother, translated from Spanish:

> "They (the parents) don't pay attention to the education of their children for the same ignorance that we have.
>
> "They say they are tired. But if there is a raffle, the meeting is full of people. If you give something away they will come, or a dinner... Some will come for the meetings, and some will only come if they are giving some things. It is hard to leave the fields to go to a meeting in the schools because we work in groups and you cannot leave the group."

Another woman stated:

"I don't know why they don't go. It is for their own good. If we don't care about our children, nobody will."

One mother expressed her feelings about speaking out in meetings:

"Sometimes we don't get what we want because we don't know how to talk. I am shy."

Sometimes it is the content of the meetings that causes a lack of interest on the part of the migrants:

Migrant mother: "At times they are not good meetings. Sometimes they talk about interesting things. Usually they talk about things about the school. They don't talk about the problems of the migrants. When they talk about the children and their problems, that is interesting to me."

Mary's notes on a conversation with a migrant mother also captured the essence of why some parents do not attend meetings:

"She used to go to the PACs here in (Texas border town), but says that it's very hard for her to get the time early on Saturdays when her kids are home and that since she has been doing this for so long, and her kids have been in the program for so long, that it's really very routine and boring, and that there is no new information to be had. Yes, the program changes, but so far it has not, according to her, been anything very dramatic and she found out about it anyway.

"For example, they used to pass out clothes and now they don't. And now they are giving out less school supplies, too. At one point she went to the PAC to raise the question of why her son had been held back in the second grade for a third year, when all of his test scores were 100s.

"Apparently the teacher had told her that he was lazy and careless with his homework assignments and didn't hand them in for weeks at a time, and that test scores alone could not pass him. After her intervention her child was passed on to the third grade, but the sequence of events and whether or not the migrant staff intervened remains unclear."

Sometimes migrants avoid PAC and other meetings because of the nature of their lifestyles. The following quote summarizes the difference between the school's need to be accurate, and to not pass on incorrect information, and the migrants' need to know an answer before they have to move on:

José: "These migrant programs aren't based on real facts, you know? You get a letter or a newsletter or whatever, about a meeting, and they don't get nothing across. Everyone talking at once, nothing gets done, no one is organized.

"You go and you say 'Answer this for me, why is...' and they say 'Uh, mmm, uh, well I can't answer this question for you now, but I'll have an answer for you at our next meeting next month.

"*¡Híjole!* Next month I may not be here! I mean, I went to one of these meetings once. It's a big shouting match. Someone would ask a direct question and the whole floor would go dead silent. Everybody would be waiting to hear what the answer was gonna be. And then he say, 'Well, you know, we don't really have that information, but if you come to our next meeting....'

"Well forget it! I mean, it gets to be that time of year when you're thinking of going [up north] and so a lot of these questions come right into your mind then and there, and you need answers, you want answers then. Not in a month when maybe you're leaving next week. That's just common sense."

While many migrants stay away from meetings, the ethnographers also found a very dedicated core of parents almost everywhere they went who were vitally involved in the migrant education program. These parents make special efforts to participate in school activities and to overcome their fears:

Q: "Did you go to the pre-K meetings?"

Mom: "No, because I don't have any children in pre-K any more. Before I always went. There are times when you come back from the fields very tired, and you take a shower, eat and go. My husband says, 'It is necessary that you go, even if you are tired.'

"I like to go to know what is going on— what can I tell you?—to show that you appreciate what they do. Like the migrant school: you are grateful that they take care of your children...."

Migrants' and Recruiters' Attitudes Toward the Term "Migrant"

Feelings about being in the migrant program vary from person to person. Migrants are aware that the label migrant often carries a stigma.

Migrant student in Florida:

"Since they (other students in school) know that most migrants pick tomatoes they call me 'tomato picker', but it doesn't bother me."

Migrant student in South Carolina:

"Ester said other students in school were jealous because the migrants got tutors and they didn't. They used to say teachers let them pass grades even when they didn't deserve it.

"I asked Ester if she minded being labeled as 'migrant'. She said she did, especially when she got older, 'old enough to understand. People have this image of migrants as dirty and lazy.'"

These are fairly mild reactions, but they affect the children's self-esteem in many ways. On the other end of the spectrum, both the attacks and the reactions are much stronger and longer lasting, as can be seen from the following quote from a Mexican American student from Texas:

> "Juanita's and Claudia's 20 year old brother Ricardo came in and joined the conversation. He immediately jumped right in by vehemently explaining:
>
> "'Migrant is a label and they think you're stupid just because you're a migrant. I'm talking [about]the teachers and the other students. Or they know you're corrupted and it gets you sometimes and you feel like you don't belong in that school, 'cause mostly kids don't hang around with you 'cause you don't have time to make friends if you're only here half a year.
>
> "'It's even worse up north. I've gotten in lotsa fights. See, they had us all in a separate classroom from the kids who live there and who don't go north. And we had people who were in 5th and 6th grade in the same class, but at different tables. I mean that was really stupid. It started changing I guess when I was in junior high, you know, when you started changing classes and then we mixed in.
>
> "'Here, there used to be a separate migrant school. They used to send us all the way over to the other side of town to go to the migrant school, when we had schools right there in our own neighborhoods.... No wonder we weren't accepted, we had all those other different schools!
>
> "'It's people that are the problem, what they think about you. Even in junior high you won't change people, people are the same all the time. They still thought bad of us, but up north, we were more advanced than they are! The teachers saw that we worked *and* studied and still got better grades than the kids who lived there.
>
> "'That's how we began to get our respect. The teacher would be proud of us kids and then maybe mention it to us, or to the class even sometimes. And so kids started coming around....'"

In a few cases, parents with children in the migrant education program (especially those with an Anglo background) resented having been identified as migrants because they did not see themselves as being migrants. They felt that being in the program labeled them as something they were not.

Anglo dairy migrant in Florida:

> "I asked the B's to describe a person who in their minds was a true migrant:
>
> "'An orange or tomato picker, someone who doesn't have a place to stay, that's a migrant. They have to move with the season.'

"Mrs. B recalled an incident where her son's teacher told the boy: 'I understand your father has to move around picking cotton because he is a migrant.'

"Mrs. B says when they think one is a migrant they automatically think one is dumb: 'They think we are dirty, disgusting, always with flies, that we live in shacks....'"

Many migrant education personnel felt very strongly that the word "migrant" was a loaded term and should not be used with the families.

Recruiter in New York:

Q: "What do you tell the crew leader you can do for them?"

Recruiter: "I tell them that I work for the State Department for the census."

Q: "You don't tell them the migrant program?"

Recruiter: "Yes, I do. I say to do census for people who work in farms. I don't usually say 'migrant' because some people are very sensitive to the word. So, I talk about people that work for farms in crops."

Two other recruiters in New York:

Q: "You never use the word 'migrant?'"

Recruiter 1: "No way!! I don't even use it with the families. They learn it soon enough."

Q: "What do you tell them instead of telling them that they are migrants? You have to explain to them why they qualify for your services."

Recruiter 1: "Because they move from school district to school district seeking work in agriculture."

Recruiter 2: "We use the word mobile."

Recruiter 1: "Once they see what their kid is into.... But if you blast the word right in the face: 'You are a migrant,' WOW!!! Right there."

Q: "Why?"

Recruiter 1: "It's a turn off. They have pride."

Migrant Attitudes Towards Education

For the first time—at least on a national basis—the ethnographers gathered information on migrant attitudes towards education and the schools they encounter. They not only collected information from migrant parents, but also from the children themselves.

Migrants talked about how hard the work in the fields was and their desire to have their children find other work.

Migrant mother:

> *"Estudien, que no trabajen en los campos como nosotros. Que trabajen en las escuelas, en el banco."* (Translation: They should study so they do no have to work in the fields like we do. They should work in the schools, in a bank).
>
> "The sun is very bad for your skin. It makes spots on your skin and makes wrinkles. During the cold times, you get cold in the fields and you are wet at times. It is very hard."

Over and over the ethnographers collected positive comments about the benefits of education.

Migrant woman:

> "For everybody, education is important. For all of our children because at times in a certain point it is important. There are young people, ignorant, that cannot read or write. In order to know how to defend themselves they need to know how to speak English. Because to work, whatever work we are able to develop, young people, mature people and old people, we know that."

Migrants often talk to their children about the importance of studying so that they will have opportunities.

Migrant male:

> "Working in the fields is something very hard. Very hard. I have explained this to them (his children) many times, and I say to them, 'Here in this house, everyone, I want you to have a degree. I will know how to dress you, I will know how you are going to study, but you are going to have a career, in order that when tomorrow comes, you will have your degree, you will work in air conditioning in the shade, and you will not walk in the fields like I did.' This is what I say to them."

For non-English speaking migrants, the key to success in breaking the migrant cycle, obtaining a job other than in the fields, is for their children to learn to speak and write English. With these skills, they can learn a trade and not be bound to the fields. Some, as the man above, believe that the children need a degree from high school in order to have a good job. Without exception, migrants interviewed wanted their children to have an education.

Migrant family that only moves in the summer:

> "We don't have very much, but we don't follow the lettuce because we want the children to stay in school. If we don't travel in the summer to ___(town)___ we can not pay the bills."

Unfortunately, the desire for their children to study and get an education many times conflicts with the economic necessities of the family. One ethnographer interviewed young people who had dropped out of high school (the father was no longer living with the family) so that the mother would not

have to work. One girl, an excellent student, quit high school because her mother was sick and couldn't work in the fields. She took her place in the fields.

The mother said, "She works because I can't." The next week I saw the mother in the fields working even though she was ill. She told me she had to work because she they needed the money for her to have an operation.

The economic pressures on the older children are enormous, as can be seen from the following quote from a student who dropped out:

> "But this drop out thing, for other kids, that's a tough one. A lot of times it's financial problems. If your family has financial problems they may need you to drop out. You can see your family growing and little brothers and sisters running around all over the place, and there's pressure to help out.
>
> "And also, they see their other friends with cars and clothes and they want them, too. So they start to work instead."

On the other hand, some parents saw education to be so important that they created object lessons to keep their children in school. These children were taken to the fields to work for a day or two to show them how hard the work is and what it is like without an education. In the following case, the boy had cut classes at the high school and was suspended from school:

> "I talked to him and told him that school was very important and if you have your degree, perhaps you can have workers. You can order and they cannot order. But because you have not done this, let's go and work in the fields. You are not going to (high school). You are going to work.
>
> "The second day that he went to work, because at 5:00 in the morning he had to get up to go to ___(town)___ for the melon, the second day that he went, he began crying with me here in the night, saying, 'I am never going to be absent, you are never going to frown at me again'.
>
> "I said to him, 'You have always said the same, you always told me the same thing, and I told you that it was necessary to study, but you never did pay attention. What do you want me to do now when you have a suspension for one week? What can I do? Throw you out of the house? Or you have to work like I did. Why do you think that I sent you to work with me?' He answers me, 'Because you love me.'"

Migrant parents recognized the value of higher education. An interesting point that came out of interviews with older migrant parents the fact that they believe that a high school

diploma is often not good enough to get a good job. If their children are going to get good jobs they will need a trade or college education.

Black migrant parents in New York:

Q: "Do you think that a high school diploma can get them a better job?"

Mom and Dad: "Oh, yeah."

Mom: "It may help them get a better job but they may have to pick up another course, you know."

Q: "Like what?"

Mom: "Mostly anything. I don't think there's too many good jobs you can get with just a high school education."

Q: "So, you have to go beyond high school now?"

Dad: "Yeah, unless..... for a good pay job you've got to have some kind of degree.

Migrant mother, anglo:

Q: "What do you think your chances of getting a good job are now with just a high school diploma?"

Mom: "There isn't a chance, not a good paying job. I don't think there is any chance at all. Cause all the jobs I've had have paid minimum wage, part time, you can't even get a full time job."

Q: "Because of lack of training and college education?"

Mom: "Yeah."

Q: "So, how do you feel about this? What do you expect for your children's education?"

Mom: "I want them to go as far as they can. I'm going to do anything possible. If they want to go to college I'm gonna get money somehow, you know.... borrow or something. If they want to go I'm gonna do my darndest to let them go."

For many of the Vietnamese and other immigrants, the positive attitudes towards education, and some of the negative ones as well, stem from the fact that the refugees are frequently trying to play catch up; to recover a standard of living, including professional education and employment, that they were accustomed to in their former homelands.

ADULT ATTITUDES. Migrants have the opportunity of evaluating the quality of education in various states. In some cases, the contrast between school systems causes them to shift their employment patterns, as can be seen from the following example.

Hispanic migrant mother, New York:

Q: "They never are at the same level?"

> Mom: That's right because here they are teaching one thing and in (home-base state) they [the schools, not the children] are behind. Here is more advanced than there. I have always noticed that and now my children want to stay here. That's why I am here."

The benefits of education. When asked, all migrant parents said they wanted an education for their children so they could do better in life than they did.

Haitian migrant tutor in Florida:

> "When it comes to education, Haitian parents feel they have failed if their children fail in school. It hurts so much when they (Haitian parents) can't read that they are very proud that their children can do it."

Black migrant mother:

> " Mrs. Brown says she would not like her children to work in the fields. It is very hard and hot. She had to do it to survive. She tries to encourage her children to go to school: 'Not to be like I am. If you have a better education you can get a better job.'"

Algonquin Indian parents:

> "I asked Marcel if he had finished high school. He said he dropped out of school when he was in 8th grade. Rose finished 10th.
>
> "Marcel says he wants his children to finish school. I asked Marcel if he thought he would have had a better job if he had finished high school. He said he did, that's why he wanted his children to finish."

Migrant parents are willing to admit that migration interferes with their children's education and some have made a conscious effort to adapt their lifestyles to the requirements of school attendance:

> " Mr. García said they stopped moving so that the children could go to one school and not have to be changing schools constantly: 'If you move them they don't learn, they just miss too much. They need to study because if not they are always going to be picking tomatoes.'"

Migrant mother:

> "Mrs. Martínez says they don't leave Texas until school is out. They return to the home base in October. She said the children start school in New York and then go back to their Texas school. She pre-enrolls them in Texas so they have no problems when they arrive."

Education versus the school—the hassles of education. While migrants value education, "schools" all too often were seen in a negative light by parents who would otherwise have been supportive of their child's education. Parents were normally

very appreciative when the school contacted them about their child. However, many mentioned that contact was made only when the child was doing poorly or causing problems in school.

The work schedule for most parents prohibits them from visiting the school during the day and some parents expressed the need to be able to contact the schools or teachers in the evening. Even when the timing is right, migrant parents sometimes have difficulty communicating with the schools:

> "The mother of one boy suspended from high school told me that she didn't know why they had suspended her son. As a result of this suspension and other absences, he lost all of his credits for the year.
>
> "The mother called the school to find out why he had been suspended and was put on hold by someone in the school for 20 minutes. 'I had to take care of the baby so I hung up. The kids can't say anything to the teachers or they will suspend them. I don't understand why they don't just give them more work, more homework instead of removing them from the class, suspending them from school.'"

In this case, the ethnographer talked to the boy and was told he was suspended because his teacher told him that he was not going to amount to anything, "just like his parents," and the boy got mad and yelled at the teacher. He would not tell his parents why he was suspended.

In a few instances migrant parents expressed concern for the safety of girls.

Hispanic migrant:

> "When I asked again why his 3 daughters had dropped out of school, Mrs. Chapa said she'd tell me the real reason. Her husband said he took the girls out of school and sent them to work because he was afraid of the bad influences they were getting in school. The girls were older and very attractive and the boys were very bold with them. He worried all the time until they got home from school."

Migrant counselor for evening summer school, New York:

> Mat: "Well, we had a conversation with another parent last night who said: 'My daughter doesn't want to go to school any more because she's tired and she's bored.'
>
> "So we talked a little more and then he said: 'Well, we know that the van that comes to pick her up also has men'— and they used that term, not boys, but men—'and that men come to night school.'"

MIGRANT CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES. Mary Felegy captured interviews with migrant children in their home in a border town in Texas. These interviews show an interesting and intimate view of migrant education programs from the perspective of the children. From her field notes:

"Elia and Esteban G. (ages 15 and 16) went north to Montana with their grandparents every year of their lives, but one.

"'I don't remember the first time we went north. We were babies. but from pictures we know. The first thing I remember was... going on the bus. We go to Montana. For three months only during the summer, and then when school starts, we come home.

"'We didn't work, but we're gonna start. We used to just stay by our grandparents. Or we used to go to the schools, so we wouldn't work. The school was all migrants, all of the kids from the workers. Yeah, but we don't get to go anymore. Cause we are over age. 14, 15 is the oldest.

"'But we still went to school the last time we went, 2 years ago. The babies are in a separate room, somewhere there in the kitchen. Day care. And then there were the 2's and 3's that were in another room in the school, and then the 4's and 5's that were in another room, and then the 6's, 7's, 8's, and 9's and up were in a different room. It was sort of like grades, but not really. Like your age.

"'We were in the same group, but not all the time. Like when he was six and I was five. And they took us swimming, then classes. The school was in Fromberg. About 20 miles. And the bus would come and pick you up in the morning at your house, or where you were working. They pick you up there and bring you back. Or you tell em where your parents are gonna be working and they take you, at three. They take you back to the fields.

"'The last time we went we only took math and reading, that was all.'"

Q: "Was it hard?"

A: "No! no. Like the tests they give here, the Tcat test, well they had a lot of different problems from that. And the reading, we had to read books, and we had to see who reads em first. The one who finishes em first to a prize, a shirt. I (Esteban) won one. I (Elia) didn't.

"We read in English. Nobody over there spoke Spanish. There was only one teacher in the 4's and 5's who spoke Spanish. Or they would call us, the big guys, to come and tell what they were saying, or when they were crying for their mother. You have like half an hour during math, and like 2 hours playing games."

Q: "Really?"

A: "Yeah. First we got there at school in the bus, we started playing outside. Then we go and we went into the room and they took us from there to breakfast.

"Then we went to the gym and we played, came back in, heard stories or see movies, ate lunch, take showers, and then we get our suits on, our swimming suits. Then we went swimming.

"They teach you about 15 minutes and then the rest of the hour you can swim. But like for the 4's and 5's they've got smaller pools for you, the little kids.

Q: "Did you learn to swim there?"

A: "Yeah. That's where we learned. And after swimming it was time to go home. We got our things together and went back to the bus. Then the bus driver took us back to the fields. It was a long ride, and we wanted it to be long. We didn't want to go back home. We would tell the bus driver to go this way and that, the long way, and she would! She was nice.

"In the morning my grandmother would give her coffee and *tortillas, mariachis* and everything. The teachers too. We had different teachers. One week, some teachers go to our house, and another week, some others go.

"And like the bus, we always beat the north bus. We always beat them to school. Like we always told em, we'd always direct the bus driver to this house or that field so we could get there faster and beat the north bus. So we beat. But on the way home it was different, we didn't want to get there first. We were always late getting out of the school and to the bus, so we could stay there another 5 minutes before we got in the bus.

"But we still have to help, if you're a 14-year-old, and there are babies on the bus, we would help carry them if there were only like one teacher. Young babies, small babies. And I helped them a lot."

Q: "What happens when you get back to the fields?"

A: "We stay there. In the truck. When we were smaller we used to stay there in the truck. My grandfather's truck. We never came with a *troquero*. If there was *sombra* (shade), we used to stay there. Or lay under the truck in the shade and play cars. Playing. 'Cause they used to buy us cars and we used to make roads and little things. It was just us, there weren't other kids there."

Q: "How many other people were working there with your grandparents?"

A: "Oh, like 10. Last time I remember it was my grandfather, my grandmother, my mom, my uncle, his wife, her little daughter and some other guy. And the baby was real small and I (Esteban) used to take care of her."

A: "And I (Elia) used to take care of her and one other. And when we went to the school we would usually give it to the guy at the school, or a girl. They would stay in the truck with us. But if they went to the rest room we would have to wait until they came back to change them. Their mother. We didn't know how. At first we didn't know how, but after we saw how we started cleaning them up."

"But we didn't have to go to work when we got back from school, not that time. Two years ago we were bigger then so we started working. It wasn't the first year though that we started working, 'cause we always helped where the truck was, we always cleaned little pieces, small pieces (of *betabel*-beets).

"And when we went to Olton? After we stopped going to Montana (they cleaned cotton in Texas instead), we started in the morning. Last year we stayed here. This is our first year we didn't go. There wasn't a school in Olton. Most of the people that work the fields there, live there. There were migrants, but not a lot of migrants. Cause in Olton people live there. And they work. They have their houses and everything.

"We were the only little ones there, and we were only four. Me and my brother and my grandparents. The first year when we went it was only four. And my mom was there too. That was the first time we worked with her. We never went with her before. Our cousins lived over there, so we started working with them.

"And then the last year, before we came back, we started working by ourselves. We went looking for fields and like that, and we started working as soon as we found afield. But the last time we had to wait because there were storms, and the weeds were small cause there were a lot of floods."

Q: "Did you like the school in Montana?"

A: "Yes, because you didn't actually do any work like regular school. It wasn't as hard, they took you swimming, there was no homework, only like 'bring a pencil.'

"The (math) problems I know now, they taught me how to do it over there. Like fractions? I didn't know how to do them. But they taught me over there and I know how to do them now. And other problems, like the ratio? I know how to do them, too."

Q: "Did it help you with anything?"

A: "No. We didn't like the teacher. She was kinda strict. If she got mad at us, we would steal pencils from her, and she would get so mad at us!

"But she would tell us stories, about a frog, Mr.Frog (laughs) and a dragon or something like that. And we would ask her to tell the story every year. It was hard to get her to tell stories sometimes, because she wanted to be real serious sometimes."

Q: "Do you know anything about the migrant program here in (Texas border town)?"

A: "No. No. Is there a program?"

(Mary explained that one of the teachers had referred them to the migrant office, and explained how the program was to help them if they got behind in school.)

A: "Oh yeah. Like I was really behind. In first grade, I didn't pass because they took us out a month (before school was really out). And the teacher didn't pass me because I didn't know how

to read. And then the state law? They started giving us a lot of things (Tcat or TEAMS) and everything ant that's how I started catching up and reading and everything. But it was too late for me to take that test, to be in the grade I was supposed to be in, So I (Esteban) am a grade behind now. And me (Elia), too."

Esteban: "To me education is important."

Q: "How come?"

Esteban: "I don't know, but I like it. I'm not passing but I like it. Like spring break now? It's boring. I'd rather be in school. I like it."

The benefits of education from the children's viewpoint. Anita Wood had the opportunity to interview or talk to around 45 migrant young people, ranging in age from 4 to 25 years. Children candidly spoke of what they liked and disliked about school and what their needs and desires were for the future.

With older children especially, there was almost always some period of adjustment into their new school and with their "American classmates". The term "American", referring to "white" people was used both by both Mexican American children migrating within the United States and migrant children from Mexico.

The following is an interview that she had with three girls, 11 and 12 years of age:

Ethnographer: "Do you girls like school? Are there differences in this school and the other ones that you go to?"

Girl 1: "I like school. The difference is here they make us make reports, and in __(town)__ sometimes they don't. My favorite subject is math."

Girl 2: "I like school. Everything in it. I have problems in division. We have a helper named _(name)_ who comes after lunch. It is good to have her. She helps with everything. The classes are in English and Spanish."

Girl 3: "My favorite subject is math. I like summer school best. We go swimming and they don't give us too much work. Sometimes we don't go to school." (They go on field trips.)

Ethnographer: "What don't you like about school?"

All three girls: "The Americans call us names."

Observation: "The girls looked down when they said this and were upset."

Ethnographer: "What do you do when they call you names?"

Girl 1: "We talk in Spanish so they don't understand."

Girl 2: "It is worse when we first come. Now they are our friends."

The children expressed the need for more bilingual teachers and aides. One migrant girl wrote:

> "I think they should have more teachers that teach English and Spanish. Like that those who don't know English there's teachers who'll teach English, And those who don't know Spanish there's teachers who'll teach Spanish. So what I mean is there should be teachers who are bilingual. I also think they should have bilingual counselors. Sometimes migrants have problems in school and they need someone to talk to. I only have one bilingual teacher in 7th period. I really feel comfortable because she's bilingual."

The following is a written statement by one migrant girl. She presented it in a school board meeting to address migrant needs:

> "Hello, My name is _____. I'm 17 years old and I was a 10th grader. I come from Nuevo León, México. I dropped out of high school because every time we came back from México I was behind every one else and I think that it would be better for us who go to México to have special classes just for us. So we can catch up with everybody and in that way we won't lose credits. Like me in high school. When I go to México I can't go to school down there because they won't accept me as a student, only as a listener, and like that I won't learn a thing. I like school but if it's going to be like it's now, I know I'm not going back to school, but if we have those special classes I know I can do it and graduate."

Teachers have a big impact on how well migrant children adjust to school. Children talked about good teachers and bad teachers. Three teenagers were talking about their fear of speaking English in front of the class because the American students would make fun of them. A teacher helped out the student:

> "I used to be like that and one of my teachers at home she told me not to be embarrassed, down here. I was real embarrassed to read in front of the class because they laughed and the teacher said, 'Just act as if you are all alone, reading.' But still sometimes I get embarrassed to get in front of the class."

Another migrant child described a favorite class:

> "Our history class was good. We cooked foods from different places and he made us feel good."

Another reason why young migrants like to attend school is because it provides them with an opportunity to socialize. For example, the majority of the evening school students work in the fields during the day, come home, take a shower, eat something if they have time, and go on to school. Since migrant housing is scattered all over the county, young people don't have a chance to interact with each other. Evening school

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provides a place and time to do just that. The following comes from a migrant school counselor:

> Counselor: "The kids that come to the night school are those who are choosing to come."
>
> Q: "Why do they choose to come?"
>
> Counselor: "The first thing is they have a chance to socialize. I think that teenagers, not just migrants, have a normal need to socialize. A lot of the learning that goes on among teenagers, and this goes across cultures, regardless of the impact on other aspects of family or whatever, they learn from each other, and there's a great desire and drive to be with peers.
>
> "Some people say: Well I guess we'll just have to allow for that (socialization) and try to get education in. I think, to the contrary, it's very important to acknowledge that and promote it."

Hassles and the down side. Migrant children described teachers that made them feel bad:

> "I can't write well in Spanish. I was in night school and the teacher in night school began laughing when she read what I had written in Spanish because I guess I hadn't spelled some words right. She told me, 'If you don't know Spanish, how can you learn English?'"

Lack of attention given to the migrant students by the teachers was mentioned often by students as well as parents. One girl who dropped out of school said:

> "One of our teachers gave a lot of attention to the other students but none to us, the migrants. It was in a class of English. We felt bad and so sometimes we didn't go to classes.
>
> "They never gave us sufficient attention. It is better not to go. The teachers made distinctions between the different students. They need to be strict with everyone, not just with us."

Changing schools, as mentioned above, is hard on students, even thought it becomes easier in school after new friends are made.

Migrant teenager:

> "In one school they are teaching you something and then if you go to another school it will be different. Oh, for me it was difficult."
>
> Ethnographer: "Did you get behind?"
>
> Migrant teenager: "At first I did but then when I started knowing everyone in there I started catching up and I'm not afraid like at first."

Although there are migrant personnel in the schools to help the students, some students feel hesitant to talk to them:

> Ethnographer: "Do you have anyone in school that you can talk to if you have a problem?"

Teenager: "There are people but I never talk to them. I wouldn't feel right."

Another teenager:

"In the counselor's office everyone is walking around doing things. It is very busy."

Arriving late after school has begun, or arriving just before school is over is especially difficult for children. Students often pressure their parents to let them go back to their home base states to start school early. Parents of older children seem generally supportive of the idea and make arrangements for their older children to return with relatives.

When asked if their opinions about school sometimes differed from their parents, the answer was yes:

"One 17-year-old girl told that her parents wanted classes only in English. She said that she wanted the classes to be explained in both English and Spanish 'so we can understand better.'

"One girl who did not speak English well said that she didn't have any of her classes taught in Spanish. I asked if she understood everything that the teachers said and she stated, 'They ask me if I understand, and I say yes even when I don't.'"

Another negative effect of migration on education has to do with the differences in school curricula. This is something the children recognized as a big source of frustration with school. One migrant mother described her 10 year old daughter's problems with the differences in curricula between a home base state and the one they traveled to upstream:

"She says like she wouldn't wanna go to school over there [upstream], because she said she already learned over here what she's supposed to learn and she's almost out of school, and she's gonna get to __(upstream state)__ and she's gonna be behind and she's afraid to fail.

"She'll be behind because whatever they're studying, they're way behind here, and they're way high over there already. She likes it though because if she goes to school up there and then comes back to __(home base town)__, she already knows everything that's going on up there.

"But she don't like it when she's gotta go over there, because they're way ahead and she's behind. And she gotta catch up. When she goes up to __(upstream state)__, they're already way ahead. So they're not teaching them as much down here, that's the problem."

A migrant girl expressed the same problem in an interview with one of the ethnographers:

" I asked Julia if she minded moving with her family. She said: 'It bothered me to come into school late because it put me behind.'

"Julia told me that when she was in elementary school she would fall behind in reading mostly. She told me that ont time they came back late from Illinois and she was going to attend a school that she had never attended before here in Florida. When she went in to register she was put in a classroom and tested. Julia said she did not know she was going to be tested and she wasn't prepared. As a result, she failed the test. Since then, she was always placed on a lower level in reading."

Another problem migrant children have to face is the difficulty of making friends in a new location:

Rosa: "It's hard because you have to make new friends every year. You leave them and when you come back they are no longer the same."

Q: "You never found the same students?"

Rosa: "Aha, because they also came and left. So, no friends. I almost didn't have any friends, and when I found one, well.... we have to leave them behind."

Julia: "Most of my friends are Mexicans. I don't really know any white people and I don't like blacks. I get along mostly with Mexicans."

One of the results of this type of hassle is that the children give up trying to cope, as this quote from a migrant student indicates:

"Of course, some migrant kids are corrupted."

Q: "Corrupted?"

"Yeah, because they don't like moving around all the time a lot and it's hard to make friends and to adjust. Others can react to that with a real bad attitude. You know, you hate it and you've got your mind made up you're not gonna like it no matter what, so then you're resentful 'cause just when you start liking a place in spite of yourself, then you have to go.

"A lot of kids just can't deal with this, so they drop out, 'cause school is just such a awful place for 'em, just a place where they're the new kid in town over and over again, and they get no peace. It just gets too hard to keep up the effort to adjust after a while."

WHO MAKES THE EDUCATIONAL DECISIONS?

Parental influence. The ethnographers discovered that all of the migrant children who successfully completed their education had at least one person in the home who supported and encouraged them. Sometimes this was a parent who was determined that the child not continue the same hard life they had. But many times it was another important family member, usually a sibling or even a grandparent, aunt, or uncle. Whoever that person was, he or she made a critical difference in the

child's academic success. Some of the following quotes show the influence that parents may have on the child.

Migrant student who just graduated from high school:

> "See my dad, he's the kind of dad who, I don't know how to say it in English, *pero le da el apoyo. ¿Sabes?* He really gives you a lot. He says: 'You wanna go to college? Go! If you have time for this, then you have time for that. Just take it slow and do it right, don't hurry with it or you might mess up and get frustrated, or you might miss something.'
>
> "He really helps out a lot, with as much money as he can. Like with Claudia [a sister in college], he helps her what he can with money, and she works, too, in the summer so she can help pay. But he also just helps you out by encouraging you."

Migrant woman who left the stream and works as a receptionist at a health clinic:

> "My mom and dad never asked too much from us. The only thing was to finish school and make the best of our lives."

When asked what, in her opinion, made the difference between migrant kids who finished school and those who didn't, this woman replied:

> "The key to getting an education is parents. Mom and Dad could have done like everybody else and put us to work, but they didn't."

Hispanic migrant mother in Florida:

> "Him and I always worked; our motive was to send the children to school. We always looked for places where the kids could work during the summer to help pay the bills. We went to work at 5 a.m.. The older ones went to school and a lady took care of the little ones. When the older kids came back from school they picked the little ones up from the baby sitter and took care of them until we got home."

Adult migrant education staff:

> "Most of the adults in the program come to get the GED (Graduate Equivalency Diploma) because they dropped out of school before they graduated and now they want to finish. In many cases the reasons why they dropped out of school were not related to their own wishes, but to the wishes of their parents. The families request that the children leave school to help them support the family."

Even when the parents are not supportive of education, other relatives may have an important effect, either pro or con.

Adult Migrant Education staff:

> "The influence of relatives is very strong when it comes to children's attitudes about school. If an uncle tells them, 'you can weld and not know how to read,' they believe him.

"Children look up to their adults because family ties are very important among Hispanics. The Director of Adult Migrant Education mentioned cases of students who had dropped out of school to go to work to pay for his/her parents' trip to Texas or to pay a hospital bill.

"Family comes first, even over advanced studies. The importance of what the education of a child may mean to the family in the future is not perceived."

The effect of family on the child is very strong, and even may be a cause for conflict within the family, as is shown by this casual conversation recorded by Marcela:

"Ms. W, the migrant program supervisor, said she had just finished talking to Mrs. M, the old crew leader's daughter-in-law. Mrs. M was worried because on of her sons was threatening to drop out of school and she didn't want him to. The boy missed 22 days of school last month.

"Everybody says he had to go to Texas because his grandfather was having an operation. Ms. W says she is now hearing that the boy never left Florida. The health worker, who knows this family well, said the grandfather had a lot to do with the boy's attitude because he 'bribed' the children with presents and money to keep them around him, and keep his influence over them.

He often takes the children out of school to take them to Texas with him and act as translators. The health worker, who has talked about this many times with the grandfather, says he believes that education is a waste of time because these kids are going to end up working in the fields anyway, and to work in the fields no education is necessary."

Children's decision-making power. Even though parents and others have an influence on the children staying in school, one of the most interesting and useful findings of the research was that the ultimate decision on staying in school or dropping out turns out to actually be in the hands of the children themselves.

Through individual persistance in their own beliefs, migrant children, by the age of 15 have virtual total control over the decision as to whether or not they stay in school. This means that the schools can have a significant impact on migrant drop-out rates by modifying the beliefs and behaviors of the children themselves, and secondarily getting the parents to help.

Numerous examples of this fact came to light in the research in all of the migrant streams:

Anita Wood: "Parents and young people told me that the decision to stay in school was the child's decision, because if they did not want to be there, they wouldn't be learning and it would

be better if they worked. Young people were also encouraged to take what interested them in school. As one migrant mother said, 'If we choose for her she is not going to like it and she won't learn. She will learn with classes that are interesting to her.'

Marcela Gutiérrez-Mayka: "Many migrant parents expressed impotence when it came to making their children stay in school to finish their education."

Hispanic migrant father:

Father: "It depends on the child, it depends on who the father sees as putting more effort into school."

Q: "So, the one who is doing better is the one that remains in school?"

Father: "I guess...."

Q: "And the one that is not doing so well, do they take him out of school?"

Father: "You don't take him out, but the child says, 'I don't want to go, I don't want to go.' I've met many people who says, 'I don't like it,' and they stop studying, and what is the father going to do about that?"

Q: "If I said I wanted to quit my father would have killed me!"

Father: "It depends on how the father sees it, because if the father sees the child is no good in school..... The Mexicans what they have is that... the older people, when a child is born, they say: 'He is going to help me when he grows up.' And if the child himself doesn't want to study, the father says: 'It's better for him to quit school and start helping me.'"

Another migrant father:

"I asked Mr. P what he would do if his daughter changed her mind and decided to drop out of school and go to work in the fields. Mr. P said he would try to advise her not to make that mistake, but ultimately he could not force her to go. He said that after they turn 16 children can get out of school. If the child did not want to go to school it would be useless to force her, he thought. He said he could make her go, but she would find a way to get out or leave the school."

The frustration felt by a parent who would like to see something better for their children is evident in the following notes from Mary's interviews:

"She wants her children to finish school and get an education, but she is frustrated and confused and doesn't know what to do to keep them in school. She says she keeps telling them to study, study so that they won't have to work as hard and have such a rough life like they do now, but they don't listen to her, she can't get through to them.

"Fernando hates school, is constantly goofing off in all of his classes, and refuses to stay after school for tutoring although he is failing everything.

"He came in later while we were still talking, and laughed and laughed through the whole conversation. Not much seems to phase this kid. He has no interest in school, seems to have no desire to think ahead, and is very fatalistic about his future. If he doesn't finish school, he says he'll work. Doing what? What is he qualified for? For hoeing sugar beets, of course!

"His mother told me that even though he was too young to work last summer (the rancher told her that only 14 years and older) he refused to go to the summer migrant school, preferring instead to hang out with them in the fields and work on the sly.

"While talking with me yesterday in school he did say he preferred working to going to school, but today his mother described him as crying and crying because it was so hot, or he was too tired, and he couldn't finish his row, etc. He was embarrassed to have his mother tell me this. She told me that this year she wants him to go to school there because the rancher won't let him work anyway. He is very small for his age and slightly built and she fears the rancher won't believe he is old enough.

"It seems highly unlikely, however, given the dire straits this family is in (financially) that she will not let him work again this year like she did last."

"Her daughter Linda is 16 years old and in the 7th grade. Her mother fears she will not finish high school. Linda is ashamed to be as old as she is and only in the 7th grade, especially considering her younger sister of 15 is a 9th grader, and she doesn't like school as a result.

"Her mother says that only yesterday Linda came home and told her she does like school and does want to finish. Her mother had no idea why the sudden change in attitude. Her mother had no idea whether or not Linda had ever been tested for any kind of learning disabilities and had never inquired at school as to why she kept failing classes.

"Last summer Linda also worked in the fields and did not attend summer school. When asked if she wanted to go there this summer, she just smiled and said she didn't know. Her mother seemed to agree it was a good idea for Linda to go to this school so that 'maybe she would do better' in school when she got back to (Texas), but didn't seem real optimistic about her chances of actually going to the program.

"She then explained that it's just her and her two older daughters working that earns the money to barely pay for everything. As much as both Fernando and Linda need the extra help, it seems highly unlikely that either of them will get it in the summer migrant program this summer.

"She says she is just grateful that none of her children are into 'serious trouble,' that none of them run around at night or go out

too much. 'It's only this one little problem with school that I have with them, other than that they are good kids.'

The following quote tells what happens to some of these good kids. They feed the migrant cycle for another generation.

Migrant mother:

Mom: "There are some parents that take them out of school because the children don't want to go anymore, like me. They took me out because I didn't want to go."

Q: "They never insisted?"

Mom: "I was 16 already. I think parents have to force them somehow. Now I say they have to force them, that parents must put their feet down and send them to school. That's what I plan to do with my children."

ANATOMY OF THE DROP-OUT PROBLEM. The ethnographers collected life history information on both individuals and families, to find the typical and atypical patterns of educational failure and success. The following chronology recorded from a migrant family can be taken as more or less typical for many families and their children.

One of the things that is most typical about it, is the tremendous mixture of both success, against severe odds, and failure, when compared with typical middle class ideals. When measured against some of the ideals we recorded for the migrants, this chronology has much more success embedded in it than failure.

From Mary's field notes:

"Ricardo went on to describe each of his brothers' and sisters' experiences with school in turn:

"'My oldest brother, he's 32 now. He graduated from Nixon. Next, he's 29. He didn't graduate. He got married and stopped going in the 11th grade when he only needed one more credit to graduate. He never got his GED, but he has a good job and is working.

"'My oldest sister is 28. She graduated from high school in Washington.

"'Next is my brother who is 27. He dropped out in the 9th grade. He thought he was tough, you know? But he had some real problems. He wanted out of the migrant life and couldn't deal with it too good. He got into drugs. He was the smartest brother we had, too. He used to help us with our hardest homework like it was nothing!

"'Then next is my sister who's 26. She dropped out, got married and now is divorced. She didn't like school.

"'Then was my other sister, she's 25. She has real serious health problems. She had a heart fever [rheumatic] when she was little and lost most of her hearing. So she has a speech impediment because she couldn't hear the words right to say them back. In school she started dropping from the 7th all the way down to the 5th grade because of the teachers' attitudes.

"'They even wanted to send her to a special school for Mongoloids, for retarded people, even though she's not retarded. But my daddy took her out of there and saw she got back into regular school. She didn't graduate, but she's married now and has a family. Her little boy has a speech impediment too, because he's learning how to talk from her, and when she says a word funny, that's how he learns to say it. But they are working on that at the school with therapy or something He won't need to go to a special school for that, either.

"'Then there's Juanita, she's 23. She finished high school but didn't like it so she didn't go on to college.

"'Then my next sister is 23. She finished [high school]. She just got married. She has 2 years of college, but she quit 'cause she didn't like it. She has her secretary's certificate, and now she's looking for work.

"'Then there's me, I'm 20. I finished high school, I got 1 year of college, but it was too hard. I just got married in '86 and now I'm looking for work. I got some problems. It's kinda hard to find work. I'm not going north with them this year because I just got married, and I wanna stay here and hopefully find a job.

"'Then there's Claudia, she's 19. She's working for her 4 year degree for her teaching certificate. She works in the summer and then goes back to college when she comes back.

"'Then I have another little brother in junior high, he's 14. He's doing pretty good I guess.'

"There's also a little girl, around 11 years old, that he forgot to mention."

As one last variable in the equation of who stays in school and who does not, the economics of migrant labor dictate that the more people working in the field, the more will be earned. If enough people work, someone may get to go to school, as the following student interviewed by Mary states:

Dalia: "I went in the morning in school and got out at 3 o'clock. And then we would go to work at 3. And then I worked til 9 or 10 at night. The sun doesn't set there 'till like 10, and it comes up like at 4 or something like that. But we work a full day at school and a full day in the fields, too. It was hard. And there were some kids that didn't go to school, and that didn't take advantage of it (migrant education)."

Celia: "Maybe it was because there was less people in their families, and they needed more workers."

Dalia: "Yeah, 'cause like in my family we have lots of workers, so I could go to school. That's why I went. Cause I've got seven brothers and sisters, and I was the only one who went to school. Everyone else worked.

"See, I needed a credit and they didn't. So I went. They didn't need credits, but they also just didn't want to go over there. They started going, but they quit. It was hard, they said, and they didn't want to do it any more. Get up in the morning and they were all tired, it was a lot to do.

"My sister is gonna graduate this semester anyway, though. She used to come to Saturday classes, too, but she's already got her credits, she's a senior, so she doesn't come anymore. She doesn't have to."

A SUCCESS STORY. One way migrants define success is someone who has an education and does not have to work in the fields. As an example, Anita Wood interviewed a young man who had recently graduated from college with a degree in engineering. She wanted to know why he was able to finish school when the rest of his friends did not. Julián said that he was the first young person in the local migrant community who had graduated from college:

"I met him in the migrant camp one Friday afternoon when he had come to play soccer with his school friends from earlier years. He and his friends had been playing soccer there every Friday afternoon for 10 years. J. was standing outside talking to a long-time school friend who was still working in the fields.

"His friend introduced me to J. and proudly told me that he had graduated from college. J. is 26 years old. I visited J. and his mother in their home in a nearby town. J. had lived with his family for many years in a private migrant camp and traveled back to Mexico every winter. The boy's parents were very supportive of education, and when J. was in the 10th grade the family decided to quit moving to allow J. to finish school."

"J.'s Mother: 'His father and I, all of the time we thought that there was nothing better than education because we saw that we were working in the fields and they paid little for so much work. And we always wanted them to better themselves, but look at all of them, no more than he (pointing to her son) finished.'

"The rancher where they worked let them have a house for only $1 a day. I asked J. why did he think he made it and others didn't:"

"'When I was a kid I always wanted to be somebody, when I was a kid. My first goal was to become a professional soccer player, that was my first goal.'

"J was an excellent soccer player, and when he was 16 years old, he was offered a contract with a professional soccer team.

"However, when the manager discovered that he was only 16, he told J. that he would have to bring his father to sign for him

because he was underage. 'When I told my father he got upset. He said that he didn't want me to play soccer. He told me to pursue a career.'

"J. told me that he was upset for about a year: 'I was really upset because that was my dream, to become a professional soccer player and then when I started thinking about it, you know, my father was right.'

"J. contributes the fact that he was able to make it through school through the help of family and friends. He was able to play soccer for another team, and the coach told him that they would pay for his tuition and books. J. said that his parents helped him a lot:

"'They, especially my mother, she was always helping me. When I was like getting down, down on school and she was always saying to me, 'Well next week is going to be better. Don't give up.'

"J. has other brothers and sisters who did not finish school. I asked him why he was able to get a degree and they were not:"

"'In my family it was because I was dedicated. You know, when you are in college, this is a big problem, you get temptations from women, from liquor and everything and this is a big problem.That is the problem that I see in college right now. About 75 percent of the students they just go there to have a good time.'

"Life in collegè was not easy for J. He had trouble with the other students:

"'You know, instead of helping each other, we are always trying to destroy each other. That's what I have discovered between Mexicans, Hispanics, Chicanos and everything. Like during my last year in school, you know the friends that I used to talk a lot, very nicely, at the end they didn't want to talk to me. Mainly because I was almost done. The only good close friend that I had was that guy that I graduated together with.'

"J. says that he wouldn't have made it through school without this Hispanic friend:

"'Sometimes when I was feeling down, upset, tired, he was always pushing me, "You have to do that. It's for your own good." He really helped me a lot.'

"J. told me that sometimes he was very lonely because he had to stay by himself when his parents went back to Mexico. Because of his family he stayed in school:

"'It is what we all think if one doesn't try to better himself, then they are going to be working in the fields all of the time. Me, when I first started studying, I was afraid, fear of the school at times, including the last years at the university. I felt fear because I felt tired, and I felt bad to leave school because it would affect the family badly, they were going to think badly of me and that they were going to say that I was a quitter. For this reason, the last years were the most difficult that I had.'

"We talked about his friends in the camp and I asked J. why they didn't make it through school:

"'The biggest problem was that they were always thinking about making money. In those days, as soon as you reached the age of 15 or 16 years old, you were allowed to work in the fields, you know, do some hoeing, tomato hoeing, and what they were thinking, as long as they had some chance to make some money, they went for it. They didn't care about their education for the future. That's the problem, most of the people they don't think about the future. Another problem was that some parents did not encourage their sons to go to school.'

"J.'s mother told me that a lot of the parents were at fault:

"'A lot of reports say that the parents cannot maintain themselves with the money that the parents earn, for the rent, but not in all of the cases....The families that came from (town) said that they could not maintain themselves, and they took out the kids to work.

"'But there were more of them that were ambitious and wanted money, money and wanted their children to work from field to field. They should not have. They think that way, but they did not think of tomorrow, did not think that their children should be passing time studying.'

"J. has a good job with an engineering firm. He wants to make sure that his younger brother, who is in the 10th grade, continues to study so that he can get a degree and a good job also. Without help and encouragement from friends and family J. feels he could not have made it through school. Because of this he plans to encourage his brother to stay in school:

"'I am going to make sure he... pursues a degree in the university. Especially here in (town). That's what my father told me, very often, "My son's going to be in your hands from now on."

"'And I really appreciated that because I'm going to make sure he goes in the right direction all of the time.... I'm going to ask him to show me his progress reports every month, every couple of months, and especially, I'm going to help him with money, because being a student, you are always poor. You don't have money, especially like, for example, you meet beautiful ladies and they want you to take them out. How can you take them out with no money?

"'And since I understand the life of a student, I am going to make sure he goes in the right direction all the time.... I know that sometimes he is going to need money, he is going to need my moral support and I'm going to make sure I provide everything for him.'"

Migrant's View of the Migrant Education Program

Some migrants think very highly of the services their children receive in the migrant education program. Others do not even know it exists. The former attitude is exemplified by the

following story Anita Wood wrote in her field notes from Arizona:

> "Formerly migrant families who are about to lose their migrant status and who are aware of the benefits of the migrant programs will sometimes move to maintain their migrant status. One man who had not moved in five years told me that he was going to move with the whole family for a few weeks in the summer to pick grapes so that he would continue to be eligible to receive the benefits of the migrant program."

The Quality of Education Migrants Receive One of the interesting things that the ethnographers documented were the attitudes that migrants had toward the education system. There are many stereotypes engaged in by the educational system that are detrimental to the education of migrant children. One is that all Spanish-speaking migrants must be from Mexico and should be grouped together.

Anita notes:

> "Migrant parents and young people migrating within the United States told me that often they were placed in classes with students from Mexico and they were falling behind in school. Some told me that they had not been evaluated when they entered school.
>
> "One migrant mother said, 'The problem in the schools here is that they put them back. They put them with children from Mexico. It would be better to put them with children who are in American schools all year.'"

Parents complain that their children are placed in classes that are too easy for them:

> "My son says, 'Look at this homework. It is so easy.' The homework is in Spanish but it is very easy. Doing this kind of work puts them behind in English."

Another migrant explained:

> "Over there in (state) they evaluate them. They give us papers with about 5 pages about all of their tests and what level they are in. They say everything that they are. Here they don't have evaluations."

These inconsistencies in the quality of education their children receive bother the parents. They want the best quality of education for their children.

THE MIGRANT PROGRAM, VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE. A surprising finding that came out of the interviews with migrant parents was the limited, and sometimes complete absence of knowledge about what the migrant education program, even

among parents who had already (and often for several years) enrolled their children in migrant education programs.

Parents are generally aware of the extra services that the migrant program provides, like lunches, dental care and insurance, but very few are aware that their children are receiving these from the migrant education program. Very few know that their children are receiving help academically from the migrant education program.

When they do know about the program, parents are very pleased and are grateful for what it provides

Migrant parent:

> "For me, it is not just a program. For me, it is something greater. The migrant program gives a lot of protection to the children of (name). Those parents that have to leave, to work in other states or valleys, it was very important because it was protecting them when they returned to this valley of (name). It gave a lot of protection in the schools, a lot with the insurance, the meals in the schools, and various programs."

The migrant parents who knew the least about the program were most likely to be those in a home-base State, whose children attend elementary school. The reason for this is that home-base migrant services during the regular school year are offered in the form of pull-out periods during the regular school day. Since parents tend not to be too involved with the academic aspects of their children's education, they are not likely to ask the child about extracurricular activities.

In addition, the often-overworked migrant recruiters frequently only took enough time to get the children enrolled, not to thoroughly explain the program. If they could get a signature with little effort, it made their life easier. Thus, they took little or no time at all to explain what services are available through the migrant program. Mary recorded the following results of an interview with migrants who visited Kansas and Texas:

> "When they came to (Texas border town), they registered the kids at school. The school called the migrant office to refer them as possible migrants.
>
> "The migrant office then called María and told her to come into the migrant office downtown 'to register her children as migrants.' A home visit was not made. She spoke directly with 'X' when she 'signed up' her kids and completed the COEs.
>
> "When I asked her what she knew about the migrant program she said, 'Nothing, what is it?'

"I explained about the services offered and she said that at the time she registered at the migrant office, 'No one explained to me anything about the program. They didn't say anything about special classes or tutoring or anything like that. They just told me we had to register because we were migrant and we had to tell them where we lived. No, they didn't say why.'

"Her daughter did go to summer school in (Kansas), but she could not associate the summer school with the migrant program or the papers she filled out.

"She says, 'It's good to know there are these services. My daughter doesn't need help now, she is doing very well in school. But maybe in the future she will need it. So I guess it's good to fill out the paper every time we go, in case she needs the help one day.'"

Marcela had the following interview with migrant parents which exemplifies this finding:

"I asked them if they were in the migrant program when they were in Frog Creek. They said no. I asked them if somebody had come to the house and asked them questions about their jobs and the children's schooling. They said no.

"I asked the daughters who were there if they ever left the classroom to go to a trailer with a special teacher that helped them with their reading. One of the girls said she used to go to a trailer for 'the migrant people.'

"The parents were surprised, it was the first notice they had. The parents said nobody had come to the house to sign any papers. (I had a copy of their signed COE with me). When they went to school to enroll the children they were given an appointment to get the physicals for the children. They remembered signing many papers.

"Mr. S said it was difficult to keep track of what was going on in school with so many children: 'You only know they are going to school, who knows what they are studying.'

"They told me that when they arrived in 'X' County in October of '86 they enrolled the children in school and after that a lady came to see them and did paper work. I asked Mrs. S what they lady told them she had come for. She did not remembered because the lady did not speak Spanish and her daughter translated for her. I asked the girl who had translated. She said the lady told her she had come to help them get in school."

The parents who tended to know more about the migrant education program were those who had children in the pre-Kindergarten program or in junior and senior high school. The reason for this was that migrant services for these children were offered separately from the regular school programs.

With the pre-schoolers, the children were picked up by a special bus, and they had classes in a trailer outside the school.

Parents were aware that the pre-K program was not part of the regular school because only migrant children could attend.

In the case of the secondary students, they received tutoring after school twice a week. The students had to have special permission from their parents to stay after school. This permission was obtained by the secondary curriculum specialist who visited the parents and explained the program to them.

Migrant mother:

> "Mrs. S first learned about the migrant education program in 1978 in (county). A family told her about the migrant education program for pre-school children. They told her they would help her put her children in school. She knew a bus came to the camp to pick up the migrant children who were attending the day care and she waited for the bus to come. She asked the bus driver about the program and she told her that someone would come to enroll her children. A recruiter did come later to talk to her.
>
> "Mrs. B found out about the migrant education program through a lady who had her child in the pre-K program. She enrolled her girl in the pre-K while she was working in the fields. Mrs. B said she was very happy with the treatment she got in the pre-K program: 'They take good care of them (children), they feed them, the watch over them.'"

Hispanic family in Florida:

> "The 'M' children were in high school back in Texas before they came to Florida. In order to help their parents in the fields and not lose any credits, two of the 'M' children took extra classes after school through the migrant program. By doing that they were able to advance their work and finish the school year ahead of time."

Knowledge about the migrant education program was also more common among migrants who had their children in the summer programs. Summer programs are operated for 6 to 7 weeks and children spend the whole day in school. A variation of this are home visits by tutors who work with the children on an individual basis.

For the older kids, some receiving states offer night programs so they can still go to work and come to school. Migrant children are signed up for these services, and parents are well aware that the program is specially for migrants. Summer programs are very popular among migrants who come north for the summer. Most children enjoy going to summer school and look forward to it.

A woman was describing to how difficult it was to be a migrant. But because of the migrant education program, they had some advantages:

"In other ways, I think it's good (being a migrant). As a migrant they can get a grant for college. That is a good idea if you can't afford to send them to college."

BILINGUAL EDUCATION. There are very mixed feelings among migrants about bilingual programs. Some parents and children feel that the programs are the only way that the children are able to learn and stay in school if they come into the schools speaking a different language.

Other parents, those from Mexico in particular, do not want their children in bilingual programs, they want their children to be immersed in English and learn to speak it fluently. The desire that their children learn English was paramount in their minds and was viewed as their key to success.

Regardless of their views, the majority of parents expressed frustration with the bilingual program in the schools, especially when the children are taught only in Spanish.

Anita Wood's field notes:

"One English-speaking mother told me that she didn't like the program in one of the schools because her children were learning only in Spanish. Where they had come from the children were learning both in English and Spanish, but here they were not learning English because they were not teaching English."

The counter view was also present in the research data. These migrants told us that if the children go to classes taught in English they won't understand and they won't learn.

Some very telling comments on learning English came from a group of migrant students whose home base was a predominantly Mexican American community in South Texas. They commented on the environment in which they found it easiest to learn English, and on the natural tendencies of the people around them to push them to speak the community's predominant language:

Ernesto: "When we were up there, we left for up north and we stayed there for about a year, right? And everybody talked English. And we had a migrant teacher. I guess it was Miss....I don't remember her name. It's a weird name. And she explained every thing to me because I didn't know that much of the English, because I was about 14 or 15 and I didn't know a bunch of English. So she helped me and I went one period to her class and the other ones with the other teachers, my regular teachers. And she was a real nice person, 'cause she helped me a lot! I learned a lot of English up there."

Alicia: "It was so much easier to learn English up there! You get used to the people talking English all the time. 'Cause people here

talk Spanish, right? And you just talk Spanish. And up there you don't, you have to talk English. So you get to practice a lot more."

Celia: "And here you just speak Spanglish. It's a mix. Tex-Mex. That's what we talk. But some of them (people at home in the border town) make fun of you too, if you try to talk English, right?"

Daniel: "Yeah, like they'll call you an Anglo."

Alicia: "Yeah, but it depends, right? Sometimes...."

Ernesto: "Yeah, that's really bad. You feel depressed, down. You just wanna practice, right? But you can't. So you have to talk Spanish so they won't get on you, but then you don't learn as much. Some of us even say to them, though, 'Hey, this is the U.S., not Mexico!'"

Alicia: "Yeah, I don't listen to them. I start talking English if I feel like it."

Celia: "Sometimes I talk English like if I try to make some jokes, or imitate some comedians. It's funny. Bet even in school, right? It's hard to learn English. The other teachers, well sometimes only the English teachers talk to you in English. All the other ones, they talk to you in Spanish. (Everyone agrees).

"There's an exception though. Mr. Saltillo he does speak more in English than Spanish. He's the government teacher, and he talks more English. There's even some English teachers speaking Spanish! (everyone laughs and agrees)."

Many families that migrated annually from Mexico felt that the children could learn Spanish in the home. In one family, none of the children had finished school. The mother explained what happened to them:

"They (children's names) left school because the teachers didn't pay attention to them. They wanted to teach them in Spanish first, and they gave them another class afterwards in English. So they gave them more Spanish than English, although they had arrived from Mexico and they know Spanish and they started again here, in Spanish and English.

"So they confused one thing with another. They speak Spanish every day here in the house. I believe that to learn to speak Spanish, the children of one (of us) knows exactly.

"More appropriately, I think more appropriately is that the teachers pay attention that the children know the English language. Because the children are not going to forget Spanish, a child of 6 years is not going to forget Spanish. The only thing that they need is that the child speak Spanish in the home in order not to forget it."

SUMMER VS. SCHOOL YEAR PROGRAMS. Parents also had differing opinions towards summer school. Generally, U.S. migrant families like summer schools that include field trips

and do not stress academics as much as the regular school operation. Many felt that it was important to make school fun so the kids would not drop out.

> Migrant mother: "The summer school is different. It is very easy for the students. They have trips and movies. It is not like the regular school. It is more fun."
>
> Ethnographer: "Do you like that?"
>
> Mother: "For my children, it is good. They are in school all year round and for them it is like a vacation. When they are in the regular school they don't have trips."

However, another mother from Texas stated:

> "The only thing that I don't like about here, is when they come here they don't get that much study. Summer school is just play and they don't get as much."

The same view was generally taken by foreign migrants. These parents want to see more academics in the summer school program. For example, some of the schools in Mexico do not accept students when they arrive late, so some Mexican children are only attending school in the United States. In at least one state in the United States, arrangements have been made with one state in Mexico to have them accept credits for children who have attended American schools for part of the year.

Unfortunately, in one school district in this same state in the United States, students who arrived from Mexico after a cut-off point in May, were not accepted into regular classes in the high school. The needs of these people was expressed to the local school board by a migrant mother:

> "When we go back to Mexico our children can't study there because the schools won't let them in. They have lost out when they are here. They stay here until they are in the 12th grade and after that there is no chance for them to study. The young people end up working in the fields like their parents and can't continue school.
>
> "The reason that we have to be in the migrant community, in this kind of work, is because we don't want to cause the government problems and we want to work. That is why we ask for continuous school year for our children so that their school year can continue without interruption. That is why our children need education, so that they can have other skills.
>
> "All of my children are now working in the fields. They went to school here in _(town)_. The reason they can't advance is because they come at the end of the school year and then school quits and then they go to summer school.

> "I have my children that are married that have children and I am speaking for the people in the ___(name)___ migrant camp so that they will have a chance."

In this particular area, as a result of the concerns of the migrant parents two years previously, a sixth month curriculum was developed for grades K-3. The parents wanted a similar program for the older children.

The children interviewed tend to like summer school more than the regular school. Most migrant children had little opportunity to visit places in the areas where they were living and they enjoyed the trips that they went on in summer school. Children also mentioned how summer school helped them in their studies. Some of the girls described why they liked summer school better:

> "Because in one camp there are all of the Mexican boys and girls and in another camp there are all of the American kids and that is better. Because sometimes the teachers speak Spanish and everything so he explains everything. Some things that we don't know he can explain it."

Migrant student who attends summer school in Virginia:

> "I like summer school in Virginia. I liked it before when I had to go, now I like it just for the fun. There are things they talk about in class here in Florida that I don't understand, like algebra and decimals. Over there (Virginia) they teach me decimals and that helps me.... I feel like I need it. I like to experience things and all. Even though I don't have to go, I like to go."

Another reason why she liked it so much was because of friends:

> "I see more people, I meet more friends. The teachers are nice and they understand you better."

Migrant student attending summer school in New York:

> "One boy said he was really looking forward to going to summer school because he was bored with nothing to do all day. He knew they would take him on field trips and swimming, and he was anxious to start. He asked me several time when school was starting and what time would the bus pick him up in the morning."

In some states, older migrant children have the choice of attending evening school during the summer. The motivation of some of the migrants to get an education is clearly reflected in evening school. Attendance is totally voluntary, and parents rarely put pressure on children to go or not to go. There are several reasons why young migrant boys and girls attend summer school.

For many older migrant children, attending summer school is a way to obtain credits which can be transferred to their schools in home base states. It is also a way to obtain extra credits, some of which may be used for early graduation.

Mother of migrant evening student:

"Mrs. Q said the classes that her daughter takes in summer school count back in Texas. Her daughter didn't have to take classes since she passed all her subjects at home, but she passed with a very low margin and she thought it would help her if she went to evening school here in New York to re-enforce those subjects in which she did not do too well.

"María Elena, Mrs. Q's daughter, said she wanted to go to evening school to get enough extra credit to skip 8th grade and go on to 9th. She repeated 1st grade and she's been behind ever since. Now she would like to catch up with her friends."

Algonquin Indian migrant student:

"Edna said she passed all her subjects this year, but last year she needed to make up credits for English. She did it by attending summer school.

"I asked Edna what would happen if the migrant program did not offer the summer credits. She said she would have to repeat the whole course again."

PRE-SCHOOL. The impact of migration on the education of their children is recognized by most migrant parents, even if that impact cannot be avoided. Since the economics of the situation dictate that as many people must work in the fields as possible, the presence of small children in migrant families can interfere with the education of their older siblings.

Black migrant family in New York:

Q: "What did you do when you could not send the boy to day care?"

Mom: "Oh, I had to take... one of the kids would go to school one day and one would stay home. That's the way I did it."

Q: "So, you continued to work and had one of the girls staying with him?"

Mom: "Aha."

THE MIGRANTS' VIEW OF THEIR OWN NEEDS. The recruiters are very important to migrant parents. They are usually their only link with the schools. Due to the demands of work and the language barrier, parents are often not able to communicate with the schools, so they are generally very pleased when the recruiter or someone from the school contacts a family about

their child. Even the role of truant officer that many recruiters fill is appreciated by parents. Anita notes:

> "Some told me that they wished the recruiters would come out to get the child every time that their children were not in school. Parents who left for work early in the morning often did not know that their children were cutting classes."

Other parents expressed appreciation for the benefits that they received as a migrant living in a government migrant camp, like the child care facility, the meals that were provided for the children and the low cost of housing.

On the negative side, parents perceive at times that the migrant personnel are in a rush. The parents do not understand what they had signed. Sometimes the hours that the migrant personnel try to visit the families is when the parents are at work. And, families that arrive in a location after most of the other families have arrived often are not identified as migrants for several weeks.

> "In one case, a mother went to the schools on three different days to try to enroll her teenagers in school. The school personnel told her that they couldn't attend school until they were signed up in the migrant program. Because the migrant personnel have to divide their time between schools, the boys waited for three days to enter school.
>
> "Another mother, told the same thing by another school, paid a baby sitter for a week and a half before the migrant personnel came to sign her up in the program."

The need for day care was constantly cited by families with small children. Having free day care made it possible for the mother to work and made a big difference in the income of the migrant household.

Hispanic migrant worker:

> Q: "How many children do you have in day care now?"
>
> A: "I only have one, but there are many who have more. If we didn't have day care it would be more difficult to work. Sometimes there are people who take care of children but they charge a lot, like $5 a day. And we pay so much for rent and electricity that $5 is hard on us and it's better to stay home and not work. Those who have many children will not be able to work (unless there is day care available)."

Another migrant mother had the following comment:

> "Jamie said her daughter had passed and was an 'A' student. The main reason why she was sending her to summer school was to be able to work herself."

Migrant parents identified other needs as well. Some said that they needed to know their rights as parents. Some indicated that the parents needed to be educated about what was good for their children.

Migrant mother:

> "The parents need advice on how to educate the child. When a boy is 12 or 16 years old, the father says, 'Let's go to Mexico.' Sometimes the boy says, 'I can't go because I need to learn.' We need to educate the parents that they should let their kids stay in school."

One migrant father who is active in the parent's organization in the schools, often talks to parents about what their help means to their child (translated from Spanish):

> "The child says, 'They gave me homework.' So I say in these meetings, if you as father, say I am going to help you, then the child feels close to the father, and with the warmth of the body is passing electricity to the small body of the child, and the child is doing the work easier. Easier.
>
> "And the father is doing, 8 and 4, How much is it? And rapidly answers the child 12, 12. Exactly. Right here put 12.
>
> "...The parents need to visit the classes of their child and the child will be proud. He will be happy with his friends. 'Look, this is my father. He came to visit us.' They feel a little stronger in their mind.
>
> "The mind of the children is innocent. When there is the presence of their mother or father, in their minds is born a strength. They feel a little more proud in their class... These are the thoughts of the innocent mind."

Sometimes the educational needs of the family, and their desire to help their children do well are great enough to cause people to migrate, just to get the benefits of the program. Families who migrate up north for the summer automatically qualify for migrant services and get day care for young children.

Migrant mother in Florida:

> "Mrs. Rodríguez said the main reason why they move in the summer time is to qualify for the migrant program so they can put the youngest child in pre-K. 'I know that if we don't travel they are not going to take her,' Mrs. Rodríguez said. 'Once she gets into Kindergarten one doesn't need to move anymore. That is the only reason why we travel.'"

Migrant mother:

> "Mrs. Alvarez thinks out loud and says that if she doesn't move with the children they will not qualify for the migrant program: 'If we don't move we'll lose eligibility. May be we'll move after all.'"

However, even with these few exceptions that point out the value of the migrant education program in some parents' minds, for the most part the families have no choice about whether they are going to migrate or not. The vast majority migrate to survive, not to receive benefits that they could afford without the trauma of moving around the country, if their labor received a higher level of reward.

Summary and Recommendations

The overall success of the Pennsylvania I&R project will depend on how well the training materials are used. They contain all of the information needed to create, overhaul, or maintain high quality identification and referral programs to meet the special conditions that face migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the United States. The training materials are solidly data-based and utilize a wealth of information recorded directly from migrants' lives and the working lives of migrant education personnel.

The programmatic purpose of the ethnographies was fulfilled. But no ethnography is truly complete without spinoffs and some serendipitous findings. These normally take the form of policy recommendations; recommendations based on the structure of a system, the beliefs and behaviors of the participants, and the directions that a program is taking. We feel that the data presented in this report provides a first step for rational program and project development beyond what has gone on in the past. The ethnographic data identifies a number of unique needs that migrants have in relation to programs. It identifies some unusual issues. It directly and indirectly defines the value of the program and the directions it can and should take in the future.

One clear finding was that, contrary to the tendency at the local level to cut outreach first, the need for outreach in a migrant education program is confirmed by the data. Migrants live in isolation, even in high population density areas. The hours they work, their frequent lack of knowledge of the local community, the absence of local contacts in their networks (other than migrant personnel), and their lack of transportation all combine to put them at high risk for missing out on

needed services. A normal, well-meaning, open door policy will not meet migrant education needs because only a very few will know the building exists, let alone find the door truly open. Migrant children need special migrant education programs to help them overcome the problems caused by moving through the migrant streams with their parents. These problems are well documented in the sections on migrant lifestyles.

Another finding is that there are several successful models that can be used to create good migrant programs. They need to be sculpted to meet local conditions and needs, but the overall parameters of the programs are well established.

At this point in time programs should either succeed or fail based on hiring the right people and managing them well. No failures should occur due to a lack of knowledge of migrant needs or the social, cultural, or environmental factors that effect their lives.

At this point in time, temporary program failures should be due to personnel problems, not to a lack of knowledge of what works well and what does not. And there should not be permanent program failures.

The ethnographers identified the characteristics of a good recruiter, and a good administrator. They demonstrated the barriers to participation in PACs and other parent involvement programs, and success stories for programs as well. It is clear from the data that programs which meet the recognized needs of the migrants have high visibility and strong migrant community support.

The programs currently receiving high praise from migrants include day care programs, pre-K programs, evening programs, high school programs, and summer programs, to name the most prominent. Programs that are poorly presented or lack features that meet the migrants perceived needs are virtually invisible.

Special Problems Affecting Migrant Education

Some of the special problems that migrant children face in relation to education programs were documented in the ethnography. These include:

MOVING. The quotes in the ethnographic data above show the stresses on the children that build up from having to

constantly say goodby to people who have just become friends. It makes the transition to the next place hard, even if that place is back to their home town.

ARRIVING LATE AND LEAVING EARLY. One ethnographer was interviewing a teenager who had been missing school and acting out. It turned out that he was skipping going to his new school because he was mad at his parents. If they had delayed their move by only three days, he would have received full credit for his school year. Now, due to the school policy of his home-base State, he would have to repeat the year.

ISOLATION. Children, especially adolescents, need to socialize. That issue should be a part of any migrant summer program. Many of the children were the only culturally different kids around and they felt a need to at least occasionally talk to someone like them.

CHANGING SCHOOLS AND CURRICULA. Many migrant children feel like ping pong balls as they are bounced from one curriculum to another, often going up or down a grade by taking a different standardized test. Migrant children, since the timing of subjects differs from school district to school district, often get half a subject every time they change schools.

NO ONE TO TALK TO. The children tend to be shy, since they have personally experienced discrimination in several forms, as well as always being the new kid on the block. When they see counselors and other important people looking very busy, they tend not to seek help. Help must often be actively offered to them, not just "made available".

LANGUAGE. Migrant children come from many different cultural backgrounds. This always creates certain language barriers and needs for them. As can be seen from the section on bilingual education, the experience the kids have is very mixed, and so are their reactions. One thing that is a very common outcome of their language experiences is a fear of talking in class, even when they know the answer, for fear of being laughed at or criticized for having an accent.

FALLING BEHIND. Some of the children survive and thrive on migration, but many more of them constantly fall behind. The only way for many of them to ever catch up, as documented in the ethnography, is for them to participate in the migrant education program.

THE ECONOMICS OF MIGRANT LABOR. If the children are needed in the fields, in order for the family to survive, then that will take precedence over education or any other need the child may have.

SELF-ESTEEM. Many of the conditions that impact on migrant children (poverty, being strangers, being culturally different, being behind in school, making friends only to move on again, etc.) tend to clobber their self esteem. This makes it hard for them to be successful in school and needs to be taken into account in designing programs to meet their needs.

Additional Factors Affecting Migrant Education

Each of the above needs affects the migrant child's educational progress, and, when present in combination, often overwhelms it. But they do not produce the whole picture of the things that have an influence on the success or failure of a migrant child in the educational system. The ethnographers identified several contributing factors:

THE SUPPORT FACTOR. Every child who successfully completed his or her high school education was supported by at least one family member. Sometimes it was a parent; equally often it was a brother or sister, aunt, uncle, cousin, or grandparent. The child had to want to succeed, but at the same time there always seemed to be a significant "other" helping. This role needs to be taken into account and supported when dealing with migrant drop-out issues.

But there is also an economic support factor to be taken into account. Even when the child is primed for success far above the average, he or she can be blocked. One student who had been unable to go to college because the family made too much money to qualify for most types of support, but made too little to afford college stated:

> "If I wanted to go to college I could have, but in order to do anything you either gotta have a lot of money or none at all. It's hard to be anywhere in the middle. And it's surprising how low the middle goes these days."

CHILDREN'S DECISION MAKING POWER. Even though there was always some support for the successful kids, the drop-outs often had parents who tried to keep them in school. One of the most interesting discoveries, from the point of view of useful policy, was that the children themselves had the final decision of whether to stay in school or drop out. At the age of 15 to 16,

many of the children were making a much money (and getting socially rewarded) as adults working in the fields.

If it became a choice of being treated as an adult and getting praise in one environment, and being criticized (falling behind, getting bad grades, being sent home, etc.) in another, it is not too difficult to see why at least some of the children opt out. One ethnographer pointed out that it might be very cost effective in the long run to pay the kids to go to school, when they reach that age. Then, they will have their parents' support and retain the chance of getting out of the migrant lifestyle.

This factor, combined with that of a significant "other", contains some interesting implications for drop out programs aimed at migrant children. It appears that the situation is not hopeless and could be remedied, at least to some extent, by selling education to the children themselves and by helping them establish the support role from someone in their family. Coupled with some self-esteem support and with economic support to keep the adolescents in school, there is at least sufficient policy implications for several pilot or demonstration studies.

CHILDREN'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION. For most sectors of our society, children are a drain, not a financial resource. For migrants, they may make the difference between survival and a successful season. This means for some migrant families the children will either be in the field or will have to contribute in some other material way to the support of the family. Any summer (or even regular term) education program that does not take this into account will have some significant failures to go along with its successes.

Other Issues and Findings

The ethnographies directly and indirectly documented that some of the important migrant education needs are not being met in all states. There is uneven coverage within states and there are significant differences between states in terms of the availability of such basic needs as day care or high school programs.

In addition to uneven coverage, there is an obvious need to allow migrant education programs the leeway to innovate and to solve unanticipated problems. This means finding ways of eliminating the fear of audits and other bureaucratic impedi-

ments to the program. The programs need clear guidelines of who is eligible, and equally clear guidelines of how new qualifying occupations can be proven.

The programs need to be able to rely on the best judgement of the U.S. Department of Education, rather than having every program officer give repeated warnings that his or her opinion is not binding or meaningful. The latter problem is a major contributor to poor administration and confusion of purpose for the migrant education programs nationwide.

There is a need for higher visibility and clearer identity for at least some parts of the migrant education program. Many times the ethnographers found that the children were receiving and benefiting from migrant education services, but the parents and sometimes the children did not know that they were the result of a special program. This means that the program did not receive the benefit of the migrants' positive regard for the help given to their children, and equally problematic, they program did not receive feedback on how it could be improved.

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Recruiting Tips

In the course of the ethnographic study, recruiters were asked for "tips"—little tricks or techniques that they had discovered that made their job easier, or that made them more effective. These tips were gathered by the ethnographers and were printed here and there throughout the Recruiter's Guide. *They are listed again here in numerical order for easy reference, and for use in training.*

Tip #1 Scrapbook

"I put photos of the program in a binder. These are pictures of what the kids are doing, how the teachers are working one-on-one with the kids. I let the parents look at these while I am explaining the program to them."

—Recruiter

Tip #2 Recruiter Kit

Always travel prepared. Put together a supply of the forms and materials that you would normally need. Put them in a briefcase or a portfolio so that they are all together and portable. Keep your Recruiter Kit in the car so you'll always have it with you.

Suggested contents:

- Good pen
- Supply of COEs
- Other forms
- Brochures explaining the program
- While-You-Were-Out slips
- List of social service agencies and services
- Maps of the area, of other states, of housing projects
- Examples of MSRTS records to use to explain to parents
- Other language/English dictionary

Tip #3 Fill Out the COE in Advance

When getting a new COE for a family that you've had before, copy the basic student identifying information from the old COE to the new one before leaving the office. Type it if you can. Then review it with the family to make sure it's correct before completing the data about the move. This saves time and the stress of filling out an entire COE in front of people. It might make it more legible, too.

Tip #4 Start Early

Start your recruiting as early as possible before school starts. You can then be at school for the first few days to sign up the latecomers as they bring their children in, and for other last minute things.

Tip #5 Student Handbook

Get a copy of the student handbook from all of the schools in the area where you recruit. Read the handbooks and become familiar with the policies for such things as attendance, discipline, graduation requirements, and grading periods. Keep the handbooks for reference. Then you'll be prepared to help the parents when they have questions.

Tip #6 Welcome Wagon Approach

Assemble a packet of information for newly arriving families. Include emergency phone numbers, directories of social service agencies, schools, churches, businesses, etc. Put the materials in a folder. Carry the packets with you to distribute to new families as they arrive in town.

Tip #7 Take School Officials on Home Visits

Take the opportunity to invite your project director, the superintendent, the principals, and others to accompany you on a home visit occasionally. This will break down a lot of barriers. The officials will learn a lot about the families, and the families will be impressed that someone so important will come to visit them.

Tip #8 Go with an Experienced Recruiter

If you are a new recruiter, find a good, experienced recruiter and ask if you can tag along when he or she makes some home

visits. After a few visits, ask if you could try a door approach or a parent interview. You'll learn far more seeing it done and doing it than you will just talking about it. You might try this even if you're not a new recruiter. We can all learn new things.

Tip #9 Recruit at School Registration

At schools that have a pre-registration before school starts, set up a table and have all parents pass by your station to be screened for eligibility. One or two quick questions will quickly eliminate most parents. Those who seem to qualify can be interviewed, and if they do qualify, signed up on the spot. This is a lot more efficient than driving all over the county. Other migrant personnel could be trained to help in other schools if they pre-register on the same day. You can follow up with a home visit to difficult or questionable cases.

Tip #10 Enlist the Aid of School Personnel

You will ask a lot of people to help you find children. In exchange for the help that they give you, bribe them—with acts of kindness. A thoughtful gesture occasionally can pay off in handsome dividends.

Tip #11 Employers and Crew Chiefs

Enlist the help of the employer or crew chief to insist that his or her families send their children to school rather than let them work. It keeps the kids out of the workplace, and frees the parents to work.

Tip #12 Name Tag

Wear a name tag prominently displayed when you go on home visits. You can make one inexpensively with a piece of paper and a plastic holder of the type you get at conferences. Or you can get a rigid, engraved name tag made at a trophy shop for a few dollars. Try to include the migrant logo. It identifies the program to the parents, and the name tag reminds the parents who you are.

Tip #13 Calling Cards

Have a few hundred calling cards printed up with your name, title, address, and phone number on them. Give them out freely wherever you go, and encourage people to call you.

Staple them to brochures, posters, or fliers that you use to advertise the program. Keep this information before people as much as possible.

Tip #14 Give-away

Have something to give to the parents or to the children that will be useful. It helps break the ice, and the family feels that they gained by your visit. One State distributes a calendar with information in two languages on immunizations, nutrition, the migrant education program, parenting for success in school, and school schedules. Another State gives out free books for children. A nonprofit agency provides one State with a great variety of give-aways. One State has a brochure about the program, and another has a welcome-wagon packet of materials introducing the family to the community.

Tip #15 Call-back Form

Design a CALL-BACK or a WHILE-YOU-WERE-OUT form and have a quantity printed up. It should have several different message lines that you can check, and a line or two for you to write in your own message. Include your name, title, phone number, and address, and a line or two explaining who you are. When you call on a family that is not home, check the appropriate message on one and leave it on their door to let them know that you were there.

Tip #16 Breaking the Ice

"I start talking like I've known them forever. Once I've got the fear out of the way I can tell them about the program. I tell them that I represent a special program that can help their child. Then I pull out the forms. You have to establish a trust first."

—Recruiter

Tip #17 Card File

One recruiter, having had many problems with families wanting to be in the program when they didn't qualify, started keeping a card file of families whom he had interviewed and determined to be ineligible. He always consults the card file first when approached by a new family.

Tip #18 Take the Old COE on Home Visits

When visiting families you've had before, take the old COE with you and compare LQM dates that they gave last time with what they're saying now. They'll sometimes give a date for the same move that is slightly different from the one given last time. This will save many problems with date conflicts. Be careful, though. The date on the old COE might be wrong.

Tip #19 Getting Families to Come to the Door

"I go to the door and knock. I keep knocking and knocking because I know that they are there. During this time I am saying 'Mrs. López, this is _____ [name] _____ and I am here to talk about (child's name).' Eventually she will answer the door."

—Recruiter

Tip #20 Locating Families That Have Moved

When families have moved, to get their new address send a letter to them at their old address. On the envelope, request that the Postal Service notify you of the new address. If they have left a forwarding address, the Postal Service will send it to you.

Tip #21 Double-check Gender of Child

Be careful when taking down the name of a child to make sure that you have the gender right. Some names, such as Guadalupe or Matilde, can be either a boy or a girl. Others, such as Francis, Frances, and Marion, Marian, though spelled differently, are pronounced the same. Don't assume anything.

Tip #22 Getting Parent Approval

"When they say 'no,' we tell them to talk to Mrs. ____ [name] ____ down the way. They talk to her about the program, and 95% of the time they will call us."

—Recruiter

Tip #23 Use the Same Car

Try to use the same vehicle on your recruiting visits. It becomes a symbol of identification. However, in some areas you should avoid using a tan or green van that might be mistaken for the Border Patrol!

Tip #24 Take Your Own Children

If you have young children of your own, consider taking them with you on home visits. They can help break down barriers with the children in the family.

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